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The Mediator

J. K. Turner

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JANUARY, 1915 PRICE, 10 CEN

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THE MEDIATOR

An Economic Paradox

By J. K. TURNER

The Trade Commission and Clayton Bills

By HON. CHARLES NAGEL

Injurious Policies of Labor Unions

By CHARLES W. ELIOT

Helping Bear the Burden

By E. F. CILLEY

The Missouri Decision

AN EDITORIAL

"WITH MALICE TOWARD NONE WITH CHARITY FOR ALL."

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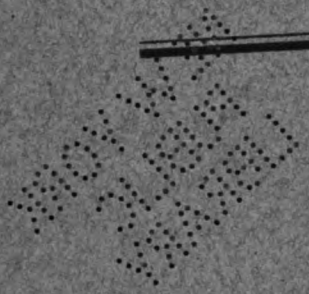

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The Mediator

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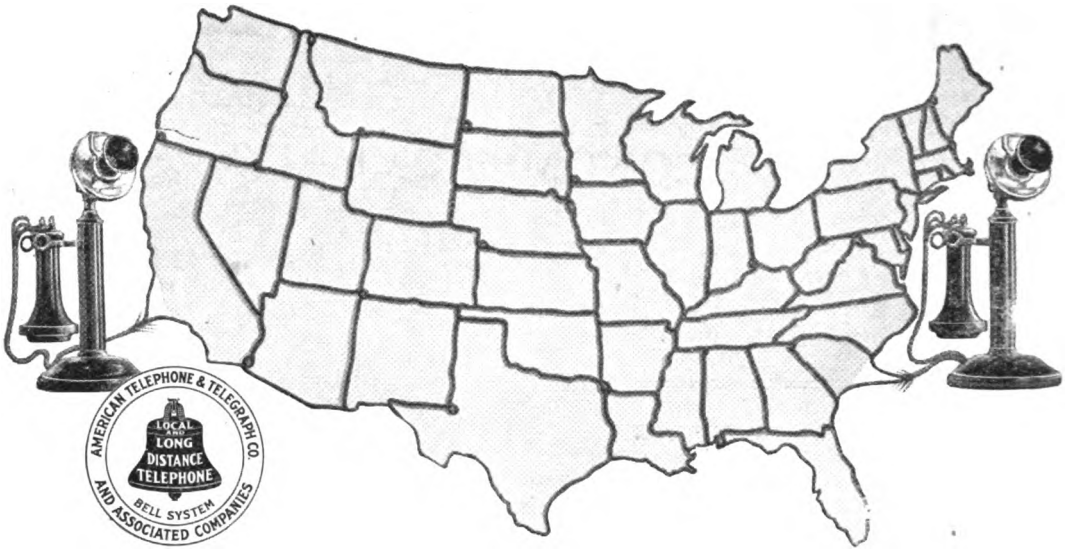
The Telephone Unites the Nation



AT this time, our country looms large on the world horizon as an example of the popular faith in the underlying principles of the republic.

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AN ECONOMIC PARADOX

By J. K. TURNER

THROUGH the department of agriculture, the government spends millions annually for the purpose of instructing the farmer in higher efficiency.

Added to this are the amounts spent by the various states for the same purpose. There is hardly a state in the union without agricultural colleges or institutions of a similar nature, which are centering their energies upon the same problem.

The people willingly defray the enormous expenses of these various institutions, realizing that the hope of the future lies in a more intensive development of agricultural institutions. In other words, this propaganda has been built up at an enormous expense for the purpose of convincing the farmer of the enormous waste of the old methods of farming.

They are teaching the farmer that his prosperity, and that of the country, depends upon a more intelligent application on his part, and a relegation to the scrap-heap of the mistaken policies of the slip-shod, go-easy methods of farming in the past. The people have recognized that as far as our agricultural institutions are concerned, the law of supply and demand is operative at all times and that the high cost of living can be best attacked by obeying this fundamental law and encouraging the farmer to a more intelligent, persistent, and closer application to his work. They recognize that the way to increase the wealth of the world is to produce more wealth.

The claim is made that thousands of farms in this country are not producing over a third of what they are capable of because they are in the hands of men who are satisfied to produce only sufficient for their own livelihood. As far as our agricultural institutions are concerned, it has become the fashion to frown upon the farmer who does as little work as possible for as much money as he can get.

As the people recognize the needs for more of the produce of the farms, they have unanimously endorsed and are supporting the propaganda of national as well as state and local agricultural departments.

Common sense, which has a large representation among the American people, approves of the wisdom and logic of this contention.

The economic laws which govern our agricultural world are equally applicable to every other branch of our civilization. Yet, notwithstanding the lesson that has been forced home upon the people as a whole, as to the results of the malingering policy of the farmer of the past, we find the paradox of an organized propaganda in other component and important parts of our industrial life, which emphasizes and insists upon the same malingering policy which has brought our agricultural industry to such a low ebb; to wit, teaching the man to do as little work as is possible and demand as high recompense as he can get away with.

So persistent has been this education of the laboring class by the

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mistaken leaders, (that it is not only right but meritorious to adopt this policy) that there has grown up in this country large classes of labor which believe that it is their duty to lay back on their work, and they do it under the mistaken impression that they are helping their brother man. Even the department of labor of our government endorses this fallacious idea.

The results of these teachings and the endorsement of the principles laid down are more wide-spread in their influence and more productive of adherents to this pernicious negative teaching than is all the money that has been expended to date in the agricultural fields in the development of correct economic views.

The most dangerous and pernicious result of this teaching is that it robs the man of his self-respect. Every man is honest and just, as he understands the terms, the progressive man, the man who desires to advance in the scale of life, is the man who retains his self-respect; no man can retain his self-respect when he is forced either through coercion or wrong education to accept in return for his efforts a monetary reward which he knows is beyond the efforts he puts forth.

The honest and progressive, thinking worker, when he makes a bargain to work at a stipulated price for a stipulated number of hours, and who does not give the best there is in him, in return for his wage or reward, in his heart knows that he is dishonest, and while he may excuse himself because of this policy and its endorsement in high places, the result is that he loses his self-respect and in the language of one of the principal advocates of this malingering policy, accepts the fact that once a laborer, he will always be a laborer. Instead of having an advancing grade of intelligent labor we are today developing a retrograding and incompetent class.

Our agricultural field has in round numbers 20,000,000 workers, and in our industrial field in various occupations both skilled and unskilled, we have 14,000,000. The government and the leading psychologists recognize that the malingering policy on the part of the 20,000,000 has reached a stage that may be termed acute. Hence their efforts to correct it. ***At the same time the same people sympathize with the same malingering policy on the part of the 14,000,000, a paradox without parallel in the history of the development of man.***

The high cost of living is made up of the whole cost of labor in every field. The correction of the errors of the 4/7 will never correct more than 4/7 of the error, and the 3/7 being engaged in a still further malingering policy will ultimately wipe out any benefits that may come from an ideal development of the 4/7.

The people must realize and appreciate their interdependence each upon the other and that a rule of conduct and effort that is applicable to any one branch is equally as applicable to every other branch.

American Federation of Labor's commission on municipal ownership of street railways reports it finds condition of employes no better on publicly owned than on privately owned lines in Europe, and that on both it is far below that of the employes of privately owned American lines; that on municipal lines abroad cost to passengers is greater than here, and service inferior.

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The Trade Commission and the Clayton Bills

By HON. CHARLES NAGEL
Ex-Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor

CONGRESS has been in session practically for a year and a half without intermission. We have a tariff revision, a new banking system, an income tax, a war tax, a deficit, and a number of laws amendatory of the Sherman Act. The people have expressed their disapproval at the late election, and the common question is, who and what is to blame? There is a disposition on the part of some to saddle the foreign war with the entire responsibility; but making most generous allowance for the influence of this world calamity, there can be no serious doubt that the downward trend in our country was well established before war was even threatened, and that since then nothing has occurred or been done upon which we might have relied for relief from a situation which our own conduct had brought about.

There are others who insist that the tariff revision accounts for the distressing business conditions which have prevailed in our country for some time. It is to be feared that this is also an over-statement. There is little question that the tariff revision was ill-advised, unnecessarily radical, and, in every sense unmindful of the dangers which necessarily are brought about by too sudden a transition from one commercial theory to another. Making liberal allowance for the consequences of this change, there is still reason to believe that the great disturbance and loss of confidence must be attributed, more especially to the unfriendly attitude of this administration, to commerce in general. It is very true that the public has been told over and over again, in speeches and declarations, that industry and commerce are not to be discouraged. But it is equally true that the legislative programs which have been announced, and which now have in part been carried out, constitute nothing short of an unbroken effort to agitate, harass and heckle every concern and interest that is important enough to cope intelligently with the great industrial problems, domestic and international, with which we have to deal.

To justify this conclusion it is not necessary to look farther than the Trade Commission Act and the so-called Clayton Act, the first of which contains provisions which may indeed under proper management work common advantage, but the last of which, in all its essentials, is a law of obscurities, verbosity and vagueness, which constitutes a hotbed of embarrassment and confusion.

The Trade Commission Act in some respects is not a departure from accepted principles. The general inquisitorial power is only transferred from a commissioner of corporations to a commission of five members. The authority to inquire is enlarged to embrace subjects and conditions, which under proper management may serve to simplify proceedings, to relieve the courts, and to secure prompt action where delay in the past has been a source of immeasurable loss. The act constitutes a departure, in the sense that it gives the authority to regulate industries and commerce which up to this time have been regarded as private. The authority is not limited to concerns and interests which heretofore by law or decision have been held to possess quasi-public character; but it extends to all business, regardless of purpose or size, and the opportunity and danger of improper interference is therefore very immediate.

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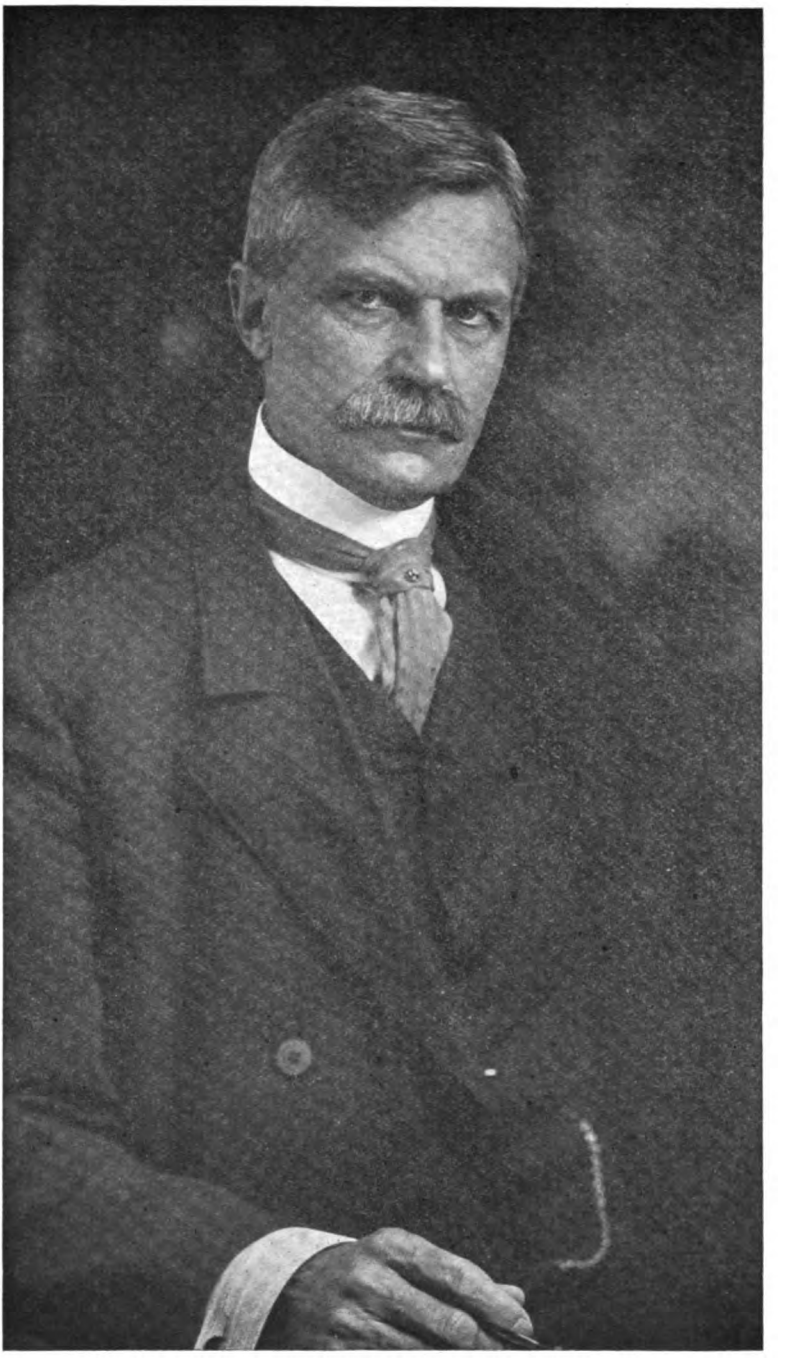

HON. CHARLES NAGEL
Ex-Secretary of Commerce and Labor. Just appointed Member of the Railroad Arbitration Board

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That we are in need of a body of this kind can hardly be doubted. One of our great difficulties has been that there is no point at which the Government—with its regulating power,—and private enterprise,—with its rights and responsibilities,—touch elbows. Compared with the methods of co-operation in foreign countries, this constitutes a decidedly weak spot with us. The attempt to meet this condition is therefore to be welcomed. But it was hardly necessary to go as far as this law does go; and it remains to be seen whether the Commission will be so constituted as to operate as a practical relief. Our experience up to this time is that commissions have shown a strong tendency to neglect their administrative opportunities, and to resolve themselves into judicial tribunals. It can hardly be questioned, for illustration, that the Interstate Commerce Commission is strongly inclined to hold cases under advisement, apparently under the impression that its real province is to make permanent rules for ultimate action; when it must be obvious that the real purpose was to afford an administrative tribunal, the promptness of whose decisions would at all times meet the immediate condition. In other words, exhaustive and prolonged investigation to find a basis for ultimate correction is well enough, but however necessary that may be, it must be distinguished from a present inquiry for an immediate answer. Fairly speaking, a commission, if it is to serve its administrative purpose, must be so well advised of general conditions, that the answer can be made almost when the inquiry is submitted, instead of having it made necessary to take volumes and volumes of testimony for the purpose of deciding a question which has frequently ceased to be pertinent by the time the answer is made.

This is the danger; but timely recognition of the danger may give us protection. There is no possibility of giving proper authority without running a corresponding risk, and we are at least entitled to hope that this most important Commission will be so constituted that it will grasp the possibilities of its opportunity, and introduce into our system a method both helpful and saving.

The so-called "Clayton Act" unfortunately cannot be called a departure in any sense, because it is in all essentials a confirmation of the worst trend in legislation that has so far characterized our statute books. There are a few sections which by possibility may work for good; but the great majority of the provisions, of which there are many, are mischievous in the extreme. It is safe to say that they denounce nothing that has not been more completely, simply, and altogether satisfactorily covered by the Anti-Trust Act, and that every attempt to add to that act, and then to modify the addition for fear that it may do harm, has added new doubt to the proper interpretation of the law, and indeed has, in many respects, restored obscurities which the courts had happily succeeded in eliminating by their decisions.

In this respect this act elaborates the uncertainties of the Trade Commission Act which, not content with having the Commission inquire into offenses which have heretofore been defined by the law, now directs the Commission to inquire into all unfair methods of competition in commerce; not as they have been defined, but as they may now be understood and interpreted. It is not easy to see how those who made complaint that such language as "restraint of trade" and "monopoly" was too indefinite for practical application, hope to remedy the situation by employing such vague language as "unfair methods of competition."

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But the Clayton Act goes farther. Just by way of illustration, it provides that no person shall discriminate in price between different purchasers. The law then proceeds to protect such discrimination on account of differences in grade, quality or quantity, or when it is made in good faith to meet competition, and, finally, when it is made in selection of a person's own customer in bona fide transactions, and not in restraint of trade. A federal statute which is guilty of such involved provisions, and which deems it necessary to affirm the right to discriminate in price where either grade, quality or quantity differs, is hardly to be accepted with anything but dismay.

In another section, the purchase by one corporation of stock in another is denounced, where such acquisition may substantially lessen competition or restrain commerce, or tend to create a monopoly. Is it possible that such a provision was necessary while the original anti-trust law was in force?

But further on we find that such purchase of stock shall not be unlawful if made solely for investment, and not used by voting or otherwise to bring about the substantial lessening of competition. If any force is to be attached to such a provision, it must of course be to discourage voting stock, which is one of the difficulties from which we have for some time been trying to escape.

In another section it is provided that no bank, banking association or trust company organized under the laws of the United States, shall have as a director or officer any private banker or any director or officer of any other bank, trust company, etc.; provided, that there shall be no objection to this if the stockholders of one such concern own the entire capital stock of the other concern. This is very much like saying that it shall be a crime to steal your neighbors' cow, but you may justify yourself by stealing his entire herd of cows.

It will be needless to discuss in detail the provisions of an act which covers about as much space as the Constitution of the United States, and which is replete with illustrations similar to those just given. In every respect it reads, more than any law which has so far been enacted, like a federal underwriting for the employment of lawyers gifted in the unraveling of confused language, or in the artful employment of obscure provisions.

It is impossible, however, to pass over the exemption, which is contained in Section 6, of labor organizations from the operation of the Anti-Trust Act. As to the wisdom of such exemption, in so far as the wage earner himself is concerned, this is not the time to speak. That the trend to more and more class distinction and recognition is strong, can hardly be doubted. In other words, this and similar statutes constitute strong proof of the tenacity of the old feudal system, to which a well known writer has lately called attention. But however that may be, whether it be for better or for worse, it cannot be questioned that the labor unions have exhibited a degree of power which in itself must be admitted to be a triumph. There is one feature, however, in these provisions that cannot escape condemnation. This is their confessed insincerity.

There is no attempt to state the intent clearly. On the other hand, there is every proof that vague language was resorted to for the purpose of permitting one side to claim a triumph, and the other side to escape

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responsibility. This sort of unburdening by the legislative branch upon the judicial branch of the Government, is deplorable in every sense.

But passing the question of the legislature attitude, it must be apparent that the courts are being burdened with a responsibility which they can hardly be expected to bear. In every case the odium of the decision is placed upon them. The legislative acts hold out promises which cannot be fulfilled. It is left to the court to give the negative answer, and then to be charged with a reactionary spirit. Every intelligent reader and legislator knows in advance that the purpose indicated to the general public has never been seriously entertained. This objection holds true peculiarly with respect to the labor union exemption clause, but is true in almost the same sense with respect to many of the provisions in the so-called "Clayton Act."

He that sits by the way-side and bemoans his fate is but a sluggard and deserves an empty stomach. The ripest fruits grow on the topmost branches and only the most skillful climber is entitled to the prize.

Injurious Policies of Labor Unions

By CHARLES W. ELIOT, President-Emeritus, Harvard University

THE point I want to make here is that there are some practices of the labor unions that not only do not provide a good atmosphere, or give a good chance for the pursuit of happiness, but actually make it impossible to win happiness in the daily earning of the livelihood.

The first of these undesirable practices is the uniform wage. Nobody can deny that the uniform wage is a very natural outcome of the strife in which the labor unions have been engaged for a hundred years; but it is a most deplorable outcome, because it takes away from a young man, or indeed a man of any age, the effective motive for improving or developing himself, or winning even more skill and more power not only as an artisan or laborer, but as a human being. It is not possible for a young carpenter today, after he becomes a member of a carpenters' union, to increase his earnings by himself improving in skill, rapidity of work, or achievement in his trade. He is dependent on his union for every advance in his wages. No increase of personal merit will add another cent to his wages. The influence of this fact on his character and happiness is most deplorable; and yet it is the inevitable effect of the uniform wage as prescribed by almost all unions. At any rate, it is a common result of the action of almost all unions. Happiness or content in earning his livelihood comes to an intelligent and ambitious person only through constant improvement of himself as an intelligence and a will. If the motive of increased earning power be taken away, improvement will not take place. There has never been any time in my life when I should have been willing to work under a uniform wage system; and I have earned my living ever since I was twenty years old. To my thinking, the uniform wage destroys all chance of having a really enjoyable or happy life in the earning of a livelihood. The earning of a livelihood will be done as a piece of drudgery, as an uninteresting routine labor without the reward of growing achievement or of conscious increase in personal skill and power.

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This is the first of the union policies which seems to me injurious to the members themselves.

The second harmful policy is the intentional limitation of output. There are many different modes of regulating output in the various trades and unions of the country. Some of them involve the co-operation of the employers, and are directed to preventing over-production, as it is called, in the trade or industry in which both employers and employes are enlisted. That is not the kind of limitation to which I refer. Such a temporary reduction of output may be a united effort of both capital and labor, of employer and laborer, to prevent a glut of the market; and it may be desirable to prevent such glutting, because steadiness in an industry is intensely desirable both for employers and for employed.

It is of the limitation on the output of the individual workman, on the amount of work he shall do in an hour or a day, that I wish to speak. This occurs in many trades, and is enforced in a great variety of ways. For example, in the bricklayers' trade, the two slowest men will be put at the ends of the long chalked line to which the bricks are to be laid. Twenty men are on the line; but the two slowest men are put on the ends; for it is their function to lift the line for the next row of bricks. So the slowest men set the pace. "Don't put your trowel out of your hand. Don't stick it into the mortar tub, and so have two hands free with which to pick up two bricks from the stage. Hold your trowel in your hand all the time and then you will have only one hand free to pick up one brick at a time."

In the plumbers' trade, set only one article—one basin or one tub—in a day; that shall be the day's work for which a day's pay must be given. Work slowly enough to make that job seem to fill the day. It never does. I lately saw two coppersmiths fill up a whole day putting up a piece of conductor about twenty feet long which had been made in the coppersmith's shop and was a good fit. That is the limitation of output. A glass-blower may blow so many bottles, vials, or retorts for a day's work; when he has blown that number he must quit, although he has not worked more than four or five hours. The limitation of output in the glass-blowers' trade in England was made so extreme that the entire business went over to Belgium, where there was no such limitation. There are innumerable examples in our country of this sort of limitation in trades controlled by unions.

Now, what is the moral effect of the limitation of output on the worker? He works in a slow, shiftless way, without energy, without spirit, without any intention of doing his best. There is not a man living who can work for twenty years in that spirit and preserve his self-respect; and self-respect is an indispensable element in happiness. There is no genuine happiness without it. Moreover, I cannot conceive of any man's being happy in his work who, day by day, never does his best. The workman of limited output never does his best, unless, indeed, he is so slow and awkward that he can barely reach the assigned limit.

I have had observation of men by the thousand practising the professions—lawyers, doctors, ministers, musicians, architects, engineers, foresters, a great variety of professions; and we know that the variety of learned and scientific professions has increased greatly in the last forty years. Now throughout those professions the men always feel that they have at least frequent opportunities of doing their level best at their work, and they would not be content and happy in their callings if they did not have those chances.

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Another practice of the trades-unions seems to me to interfere very much with that pursuit of happiness to which the Declaration of Independence says every man is entitled. I refer to the extraordinary surrender of individual liberty to which all union men consent.

I firmly believe that the proper results of democracy in improving the condition of the human race are to be procured only through increase of liberty, and never by its diminution. Freedom, both political and social, is the great object of democracy. Now every effective labor union gives to its chosen officials an extraordinary power over its members. I know of no despotic authority in civil life to compare with the authority of a labor-union leader; and that power is exercised over the most precious human interests. If it were exercised only on comparatively unimportant matters, such as shop rules or trade customs, or even on wages, it might not be very objectionable to would-be freemen, but it has to do with the most precious human privilege—with the right to work, with freedom to earn the living of wife and children. That is a liberty which most members of learned, scientific, and artistic professions would never consent to part with for a moment; and the existence of that personal independence is one of the great attractions toward those professions. Here is a marvelous contrast between the states of mind and the practices of the members of the liberal professions on the one hand and of trades unions on the other. You perceive that I address myself solely to those practices of unions which I believe to have an injurious effect on the character of their members or on their prospects of success in the pursuit of happiness.

How can we explain the fact that millions—I believe it is two millions now—of American citizens have surrendered that precious liberty, and have agreed to rules of conduct which deprive them of the opportunity to do their best in their daily work—even if it be piece-work? I believe this state of things to be the natural outcome of the war which has been going on in factories and mines for more than a hundred years between the employers, outraged often by what they deemed the unreasonable and unjust conduct of their workmen, and the employes, struggling for more freedom and independence and a better family life, and to those ends for higher wages, shorter hours, and wholesomer surroundings at labor.

War, industrial and social, and therefore domestic, or between two governments or peoples, and therefore foreign, is capable of producing some good results, oftener the unexpected than the anticipated, but always produces simultaneously or later evil results which may outweigh the good. The material advantages which the unions have gained by a century of warfare are obvious; but the moral losses which have accompanied these gains are formidable, though not so obvious. They account for the prevailing discontent and lack of happiness among all sorts of mechanics and operatives.

I have had opportunity to watch the careers of many thousands of young men, going out into the world to run a life-course, to earn a livelihood, and to win a happy life; and this is the clear conclusion at which I have arrived from these many years of constant observation of the careers of educated young men—their wages and their long or short hours have next to nothing to do with their success in the pursuit of happiness. Given earnings enough to enable a man to bring up a family in a healthy way, what he earns in money and how many hours a day he

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works have next to nothing to do with that man's happiness. I know it is a common idea that only the rich are happy, that only the men who can spend without restraint on pleasures, so-called, that only they are happy. This idea is an absolute delusion, root and branch. Happiness comes out of personal achievement or personal success in the use of personal powers; happiness comes out of the family, the home, the wife and children, the grand-children, and the great-grandchildren.

Therefore, when the unions impair the moral conditions of the lives of their members, prevent their personal improvement and enlargement as life goes on and restrict their liberty to work for wife and children in order to better the family conditions, they clog the real sources of human happiness; and no increase of wages and no shorter hours will make up for that loss. Hence the great need that the members of the unions themselves go to work inside their unions to stop these injurious policies, grown out of the prolonged state of warfare, while they were struggling for more pay and more consideration. That is the reform which is most urgent in our country at this moment, reform within the unions themselves.

There are many signs that union members are taking these things to heart. Over and over again I have been told by union men, first, that they were forced into their union on the occasion of a strike or lockout. Secondly, that they stayed in only because they feared they could not get a job, or could not keep a job when they got one, unless they were members of the union. Many working men find some relief in the union from the sickening dread of having no job. And, lastly, many men stay in unions because, having paid for twenty years or more the assessments for the benefits the unions give—death benefits and sickness benefits—they do not feel that they can sacrifice all the money they had paid for these benefits, as they would have to do if they left the union. That, by the way, is a hold the unions have upon their members which does not conform to the laws governing insurance companies. The man who ceases to pay the premium on his life insurance, after having paid it regularly for some years, cannot legally be made to sacrifice all that he has paid in because he ceases to pay. His policy has a surrender value. The unions use their sickness and death benefits as means of holding dissatisfied members, and of enforcing the payment of fines.

Many members of unions feel keenly the deprivations of liberty that they suffer. I have noticed a common phenomenon with regard to labor leaders; they have tremendous authority over union members, but it is a curious thing to see how little the members trust them. Over and over again I have seen that a union labor leader going to an interview of importance—some collective bargaining perhaps, or some discussion of the means of settling a strike—and, indeed, in some instances, just going to lecture before a mixed audience—is usually accompanied by witnesses, and rarely trusted alone.

Now these are symptoms of an approaching change. It is a change that our dear country very much needs; it is a change which democratic society needs; and, moreover, it is a change that would be welcomed by a great majority of the men who now belong to unions.

But there is a still more important indication of a coming change. It is the rapid extension of the method called profit-sharing; and the advantage of profit-sharing is that it goes to the roots of the whole industrial warfare.

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There are many other expedients—like scientific management, for example—for increasing the efficiency of men at work, and incidentally increasing their earnings. Welfare work is often serviceable; but it does not go to the root of the matter; it seems to the workman to be a kind of charity, a charity which redounds to the advantage of the employer—as indeed it does. But profit-sharing goes right to the root of the whole matter; for it presents to the working man exactly the same motive for strenuous, zealous, loyal labor, day in and day out, for stopping wastes and preventing stealings, that the owner or the manager feels; precisely the same motive to the same end, namely, that by careful, frugal, honest work a profit may be created which all concerned in its creation may share on equitable terms.

It is an encouraging sign that labor leaders are unanimously opposed to profit-sharing. That is one of the best signs I see. The rank and file of the unions have the strongest inducement to get at all there is in profit-sharing, to promote it, and to encourage experiments with it in great variety. It is co-operative partnership between capital and labor; and that is the way out of the industrial strife in which the manufacturing countries have been involved for more than a century.—*The Review.*

Ignorance may be bliss but it must be very tiresome.

Helping Bear the Burden

By E. F. CILLEY

A CAREFUL study of history brings forth the facts that business depressions have been recurrent, that every now and then there has been a slackening of production. The causes have not always been the same, and in fact on this point, there have been numerous reasons advanced for the depression, each having its supporters.

However, whatever may have been the cause for past and present slackness, labor as a rule, is unprepared for the decrease or entire loss of wages.

It seems to be quite the natural thing for us to believe that when business is good, and we are prosperous, that we will always be so, entirely overlooking the facts that the past has shown that hard times are bound to recur. In spite of warnings to the workers by their employers, who are the first to detect a halt in business, little heed is given to the advice to husband their wages, that they may be prepared if retrenchment comes.

One depression has been very much like another, in the business failures caused and the suffering entailed on labor. When it became necessary to retrench, industrial, commercial and transportation companies reduced their forces to the size necessary to handle business, and if business showed further shrinkage, then came a further cut in forces, sometimes in both forces and hours, but as a rule a reduction in forces.

Just previous to the 1907 depression, some organizations of labor began to place in their schedule clauses calling for a reduction in the working hours instead of a reduction in the force, when retrenchment was necessary.

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In most instances they found employers willing to grant their requests for such a clause and this method of retrenchment has become quite general, calling for no reduction in force until the hours of labor have been reduced up to a certain point, covering a stated period.

In dull times, one of the most frequent complaints has been that when retrenchment has been necessary the employes have had to bear the entire burden while the officials got their salaries just the same, and in this the employes have had just grounds for complaint, as by no conception have they been able to consider it a square deal for one part of an organization to share in a retrenchment without the entire organization helping bear a part of the burden.

While the dull times of 1907 inspired labor organizations to advance the plan for all employes in a plant to share equally in a depression, the present hard times have shown a still further recognition of their interdependence, this time on the part of business concerns; many have cut the salaries of their officials, as the heads of such companies have come to feel that this is only fair to those in the ranks who have had their earnings curtailed.

As has been pointed out before, labor organizations, in many ways, are similar to industrial organizations. Now if good business sense decrees that industries shall curtail expenses in times like the present and cut out many items which were previously considered necessary, the same should hold true of labor organizations, beginning with the local lodges and continuing up through the districts to the Grand Lodges.

If business officials feel that it is only fair to their men that they should cut their salaries in order to keep expenses down, officials of labor would by doing the same, show their willingness to share with their fellow members the depression and would eliminate a great deal of complaining on the part of the members who pay the dues and assessments necessary to keep the machinery of the organization running.

We can all see a decided change in the interest of greater harmony, co-operation, and square dealing, through the actions of the officials of industries in sharing with their employes the burdens imposed by the hard times; we can also see the willingness of the rank and file to share and share alike in the retrenchment.

The burden due to the slowing down of business which was so heavy, falling as it did upon a certain number, has become much lighter on their shoulders, but it can be lightened still further, if, at such a period as we have been passing through during the last year, the officials of labor will bear their share of the burden with the same willingness as the members and the officials of the companies from which they earn their livelihood.

In 1912, the socialistic candidate for governor of Ohio received 87,709 votes out of a total of votes cast for governor, of 1,017,435. In 1914 the socialistic candidate for governor received 51,688 votes out of a total vote of 1,130,651.

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The Circle of the Labor Movement*

By J. K. TURNER

Chapter X.

Ancient Socialism

RUNNING all through the stories of the struggles of labor, we find expressions of sympathy for their condition, rather marked at different times, in an effort to bring about a more equitable disposition of the common property.

Socialism was not known under that term, but the policies and the propaganda of the present-day socialism are as old as history. Lycurgus, the law-giver of Sparta, who lived about the tenth century B. C., is the first of the law givers to make an effort at equalization on socialistic lines. He divided the country into equal shares, and also the city. These he distributed among the Spartans and the citizens of the country. Some authorities have it that he made 39,000 divisions outside of Sparta and 9,000 in the city. But Plutarch gives the divisions as 30,000 without, and 9,000 within.

Laws were enacted and a plot of land was to "yield one year with another, about 70 bushels of grain for the master of the family, 12 for the wife, and with suitable proportion of wine and oil." It is reported that as Lycurgus returned from a journey over the divisions of the lands in harvest time, he remarked that "All Laconia looked like a one-family estate, just divided among a number of brothers."

"Not contented with this", Plutarch says, "he resolved to make a division of their movables too, that there might be no odious distinction or inequality left amongst them; but finding that it would be very dangerous to go about it openly, he took another course, and defeated their avarice by the following stratagem: he commanded that all gold and silver coin should be called in, and that only a sort of money made of iron should be current, a great weight and quantity of which was very little worth; so that to lay up twenty or thirty pounds there was required a pretty large closet, and, to remove it, nothing less than a yoke of oxen. With the diffusion of this money, at once a number of vices were banished from Lacedaemon; for who would rob another of such a coin? Who would unjustly detain or take by force, or accept as a bribe, a thing which it was not easy to hide, nor a credit to have, nor indeed of any use to cut in pieces. For when it was just red hot, they quenched it in vinegar, and by that means spoilt it, and made it almost incapable of being worked.

"In the next place, he declared an outlawry of all needless and superfluous arts; but here he might almost have spared his proclamation; for they of themselves would have gone after the gold and silver, the money which remained being not so proper payment for curious work; for, being of iron, it was scarcely portable, neither, if they should take the means to export it, would it pass amongst the other Greeks, who ridiculed it. So there was now no more means of purchasing foreign goods and small wares; merchants sent no shiploads into Laconian ports; no rhetoric-master, no itinerant fortune-teller, no harlot-monger, or gold or

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silversmith, engraver, or jeweler, set foot in a country which had no money; so that luxury, deprived little by little of that which fed and fomented it, wasted to nothing and died away of itself. For the rich had no advantage here over the poor, as their wealth and abundance had no road to come abroad by, but were shut up at home doing nothing. And in this way they became excellent artists in common, necessary things; bedsteads, chairs, and tables, and such like staple utensils in a family, were admirably well made there; their cup, particularly, was very much in fashion, and eagerly bought up by soldiers, as Critias reports; for its color was such as to prevent water, drunk upon necessity and disagreeable to look at, from being noticed; and the shape of it was such that the mud stuck to the sides, so that only the purer part came to the drinker's mouth. For this, also, they had to thank their law-giver, who, by relieving the artisans of the trouble of making useful things, set them to show their skill in giving beauty to those of daily and indispensable use.

"The third and most masterly stroke of this great law-giver, by which he struck a yet more effectual blow against luxury and the desire of riches, was the ordinance he made, that they should all eat in common, of the same bread and the same meat, and of kinds that were specified, and should not spend their lives at home, laid on costly couches at splendid tables, delivering themselves up into the hands of their tradesmen and cooks, to fatten them in corners, like greedy brutes, and to ruin not their minds only but their very bodies, which, enfeebled by indulgence and excess, would stand in need of long sleep, warm bathing, freedom from work, and, in a word, of as much more care and attendance as if they were continually sick. It was certainly an extraordinary thing to have brought about such a result as this, but a greater yet to have taken away from wealth, as Theophrastus observes, not merely the property of being coveted, but its very nature of being wealth. For the rich, being obliged to go to the same table with the poor, could not make use of or enjoy their abundance, nor so much as please their vanity by looking at or displaying it. So that the common proverb, that Plutus, the god of riches, is blind, was nowhere in all the world literally verified but in Sparta. There, indeed, he was not only blind, but, like a picture, without either life or motion. Nor were they allowed to take food at home first, and then attend the public tables, for every one had an eye upon those who did not eat and drink like the rest, and reproached them with being dainty and effeminate."

There is nowhere in history where collectivism was carried to such extremes as under Lycurgus. Even the children were held in common. Under the law, it was unlawful for the father himself to bring up the children after his own fancy. As soon as they were seven years old, they were enrolled in certain classes where they all lived under the same order and discipline, doing their exercises and taking their play together. To this end as they grew in years, the discipline was proportionately increased, their heads close cropped, and they were accustomed to go barefoot and for the most part they played naked.

They lodged together in little beds made of rushes which grew by the river Eurotas. In the winter they mingled thistledown with their rushes and by this method they developed a hardy ruggedness.

The methods of election were peculiar. The people were called together and some selected persons were locked up in a room near the

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place of election, so contrived that they could neither see nor be seen but could only hear the noise of the assembly without, but they decided this as most other affairs of moment, by the shouts of the people.

The competitors were not brought in and presented all together, but one after another by lot, and passed in order through the assembly without speaking a word. Those who were locked up had writing tables with them where they recorded and marked each shout by its loudness without knowing in favor of whom the shout was made, but merely that they came,—one, two, three, etc., and he who was found to have the most and loudest acclamations was declared Senator duly elected.

Numa Pompilius and Solon are credited with the establishment of laws in the interest of the proletariat. Numa about 700 B. C. created the Ager Publicus or public lands. It was the common property belonging to the state which was farmed out to the labor unions and freedmen who worked the land co-operatively. The business of the labor unions was to attend to the farming of the public lands and the division of the products of the land was equalized by law.

In order to facilitate the workings of this plan of communistic communism, Numa ordered the entire people including the working classes to be distributed in 11 guilds, and by this common privilege of combination, each man was set to do the task which he was best fitted for, and during the reign of Numa Pompilius, which lasted 39 years, peace reigned. Plutarch says he closed the temple of Janus (the god of war) for 43 years and this time was known as the "Time of Perpetual Peace" and was called the "Golden Era of the People."

Authorities differ as to the socialistic instinct actuating Numa and Lycurgus. Numa's idea and effort was to make industry respectable, and he protected them in every way possible.

It is the opinion of historians that Numa borrowed his notions regarding this method of organization of the working population mostly from the then existing state of labor organizations in Egypt, Asia Minor, and Attica.

The ancient trade union both under the law of Solon and Numa Pompilius was a state institution, the land taken by conquest was taken by the state together with the family religion and all its temples of worship.

The buildings of the city were the property of the state, and most of the slaves, who cultivated the soil under the direction exclusively of the trade unions, were also the property of the state. This made a social state and almost a socialistic state, and in many respects more social than political, but entirely spoiled by the social distinction of rank.

The religion, based upon heredity and superstition combined, was an extraordinary tissue of errors greatly increasing the common misery of the people by constantly flaunting in their faces the insult that none but the high born were eligible for the Eleusinian mysteries.

This system lasted from the days of Numa Pompilius, which was about 690 B. C. until the year 58 B. C., when Caesar ordered the conspiracy laws.

In Greece from the time of Solon, about 592 B. C., it continued down to her conquest by the Romans.

One peculiar difference in the trades organizations of those days was their treatment of the apprentices as compared with the present day policy. Plato expresses the feeling of the time in the following words:

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"The boy without being fitted by education becomes crafty and cunning, and of all the wild beasts the most insolent."

Religion is the handmaiden of the Conscience. Religion rests upon an assumed immortality, conscience upon religion. Belief in a doctrine of development is belief either that man is without an immortal spirit or that through his genius he has developed or evolved from his original beasthood independent of an Almighty Power.

The affairs of cold reason deal only with caution for safety's sake. Lions, dogs, hyenas, and vultures are constantly to be compared with the cold reasoning of men obsessed with their own importance in their desire only to survive their victims and be happy.

The lack of conscience results in unreason, and unreason breeds fear, which holds in check most men. Freed from the fear of punishment the only thing to consider before commission of a deed is caution for safety sake. First that the act may not recoil on himself and second that he may not be caught at it and be discovered.

Reason has not as yet changed the moral aspect of things from this fighting competitive state to the mutual co-operative condition, wherein all harmoniously agree to care for the other as the best means for caring for themselves, and until this fundamental truth arrives in the hearts of men, they are in a transitory state, whose progress depends upon every possible advantage known in civilization.

(To be Continued)

Look far enough into the future to miss the road to regret.

Government Ownership is not Socialism

By C. B. HOFFMAN

ONE of the common errors that non-socialists make concerning socialism is that government ownership of railroads and other industrial concerns is socialism. They do not seem to grasp the difference between a capitalistic government, owning and operating, for profit, a railroad, for instance, and a socialist government owning and operating it, entirely in the interest and for the benefit of the men who work on the railroad and the people who ride or ship goods on it.

In other words: *Socialism would run railroads without Interest on bonds (there would be none issued) or on investments, and without profit to the government or anybody else.*

The governments which own and operate railroads today, be it in Alaska or in Australia, pay but little if any higher wages than privately owned railroads pay. The hours of labor are about as long and the working conditions not much better than on privately owned roads; nor do these roads carry passengers and freight at much less than those owned by private corporations which pay interest on bonds and dividends on stock.

Why is there so little difference between state-owned and privately owned roads? Because governments everywhere and especially in the U. S., are capitalistic, i. e., are controlled and directed by men who believe in capitalism, who live on rent interest and profit, who have vast incomes

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from the ownership of industries in which they do not work and which they do not even direct, or if they do direct them, take princely salaries for their services.

The owning class will not permit, as long as they can prevent it, to pay much higher wages for much shorter hours to employes on government railroads than is generally paid by capitalist employers in other industries. To do so would disturb the labor market. It would tend to raise the price of human flesh. *It would cause the people to demand that other industries be taken over by the government or that private concerns pay as much as the government for labor.*

The way our government plays into the hands of the owning and employing class is well illustrated in its management of the post office: On the one hand it pays its employes, especially the fellows that do the hardest and most disagreeable work, no more than any private employer, while it pays the privately owned railroads much more for carrying the mails than any private person or corporation pays the railroads for the same amount of service.

The remedy for the evils of graft and inefficiency in partial government ownership is more government ownership. For if the government also owned the railroads the graft which the private owners of railroads now extract from the government would have no cause for existence.

Government ownership is probably the next step on the road to socialism, because the public press, largely owned and greatly influenced by a wealthy, intelligent and powerful owning class, will not fairly discuss socialism on its merits.

B. F. Bush, president of the Missouri Pacific recently said: "The railroads are absolutely in the hands of the people since the federal and state legislation has become supreme." Mr. Bush pleads eloquently for privately owned railroads, pleads for the continuation of interest and dividends for the bond and stock holders, not realizing that bonds and stocks represent the legal right to levy tribute upon the people, granted by a capitalist government to the property owning class.

The burden of interest on bonds and of dividends upon stocks, not only of railroads, but of all the other industrial, banking and merchandising concerns, has become so heavy that the people are no longer able to bear it and are seriously considering the proposition of changing the very foundation of society.

Socialism is the collective ownership and democratic management of all the means of production, transportation and exchange, doing away with rent, interest and profit, and thus giving every human being an opportunity to work and to possess, use and enjoy, the full social value of his or her labor. This is fundamentally different from a capitalistic government owning a railroad and running it in a capitalistic way for the benefit of the capitalists.

The men and women who clearly see that corruption in government, and all the outrageous exploitation, legal and illegal, of the working class, are due to the private ownership, by a small class, of all the means of making a living, and have the courage to say so, are not the ones who wear "Solid Ivory" for a head-piece, as the *Railway Age Gazette* claims in an article quoted in the November MEDIATOR. It is the men who fail to see that the general tendency is towards the greater enrichment of the few and the impoverishment of the masses whose heads are "Solid Ivory" and whose hearts are of stone.

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Problems of Discipline

By JAMES BRUCE

IN the fore-going articles on Discipline, attention is called to some of the imperfections of our industrial conditions. It naturally follows thus: that we take a trip through the Laboratory of Industrial Science and investigate thoroughly each controlling factor found in this human plant. Let us see if we can't institute artificial rules which will conform to those natural that govern the social and industrial fabric. As yet we have been content to enter the sitting room of the Laboratory and thus emerge without understanding the conditions generally, much less being able to reach a solution. And until we do complete this trip, we will never be able to successfully promote the growth and healthy development of the plant. Our scientists in their investigations of other branches, chemical and others, go to the farthermost nook seeking there what may be found, observing closely each detail that tends to develop or retard the progress of the subject for which such search is made.

In going through this Laboratory, you will find material things to be understood, also a solution as to what is best to be done in building up the supports properly so as to produce a harmonious whole. In there you will find the plants of Efficiency, Economy, Diligence, Safety, and Co-operation, all blended into a harmonious whole, seeking attention and assistance for their further development. The successful Military Strategist examines minutely each factor, obstacle or point of vantage, so as to bring into action a harmonious whole, so as to attain the object sought and in so doing, he must study with care each of the above named plants, understand their needs and the natural laws governing them, which is essential to their natural growth and development. So it is in our great industrial army. We must seek an industrial Strategist so as to successfully attain the points of vantage sought. And when we do this, we will have builded a foundation that will be as lasting as time, a monument of Industrial Progress, dedicated to generations yet unborn, and the white dove of peace will sit on its pedestal cooing the sweet songs of, "Peace on earth, good will to man."

There comes a time during the life of every organization, that it must sever its social and business relations, and bid farewell to well-tried methods, relegating them as historic monuments of the age in which they served. This being true, it now behooves us to prepare for the new era and provide adequate methods and devices to carry forward our great enterprises to meet new conditions and secure the degree of success desired. And in order to accomplish this, it will be necessary for some one to take the initiative, bringing together a small number of employes and employers, and public-spirited men, who will inquire into each phase of the subject, who will scrupulously guard each factor found. Let those who wish to do a public service, join in this and take from the agitator and politician their weapons of disruption and thereby save untold assessments and waste in taxation to our general public, besides the enormous drain on our industrial institutions, and natural resources, abolishing innumerable laws and organizations which only tend to widen the breach and deepen the gulch into which we surely must fall.

The publicity which will be given a movement of this kind, will reach each fireside and the investigation will mold public sentiment in

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such a manner that a great industrial reform will take hold which will develop efficiency, economy, and co-operation. It will be a builder of the wiser man, creating both internal and external co-operation and development, of which stability and successful development will be the reward.

We see innumerable commissions appointed and civic societies formed whose duty it is to inquire into the subject, and in nearly all cases it is the political or social standing of the personnel of such bodies that recommends them for their posts of duty. Now let us, who are actively engaged in the operation of the various industrial enterprises, appoint a commission and in selecting the personnel, let us not forget the hairy handed employe from the hod carrier to the skilled artisan and finisher, who you will find to be a willing and potent factor in reaching a safe and sound solution of our industrial turmoil. Let us remember the rail splitter of the Sixties, and his accomplishments. Remembering his prophesies, and now start on that road leading to a new birth of freedom, thereby fulfilling his prophesy.

The man who climbs the ladder of success must look for smiles and sunshine above; beneath him is darkness, envy and hatred.

Cultivation

By J. K. TURNER

IN order to produce the best returns from any form of nature that man wishes to cultivate, he does it through the shielding and the cultivation of the forces through which he must operate. In dealing with man it is equally as essential that man should cultivate the forces through which his success will come.

In the plant, it may be necessary to start a healthy growth through a forced or assisted cultivation. Gardeners have found it economical to clothe and shelter them to keep out dangerous and destructive forces as well as concentrate the forces within the plants themselves and through the glass shelter magnify and conserve the genial warmth, which makes for a healthy, thriving plant.

In industry, destructive forces have been permitted free access, and blight and frost have shown their effects in a decreasing friendliness and a constantly increasing inefficiency. It would be well in the latter illustration to assist the product by cultivating the co-operative spirit in man. This would of necessity erect a barrier against the storms of adversity, and the sun of mediation should be effulgently magnified by a direct personal interest, one with the other, regardless of position, place, or power; thus will intensive industry be made possible.

Each side of the square must be equal in its importance to the whole. Any other method is wrong and uneconomical. The waste in industry through the lack of co-ordination and co-operation is due equally to the selfishness and greed of each side of the square. What the square needs is re-alignment and adjustment. The economic waste due to this condition is immeasurable. Industry needs a new yard stick that will measure a yard with equal precision in the division of the results of the industry as it does in the division of labor in each branch, and the resultant

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economic benefit from such readjustment will add to each side a sufficient increase in their share to make the effort worth while.

Labor is dishonest. This dishonesty is due to the belief that it is not receiving its full share in the division, and knows not how to correct it. The directing forces recognize this fact and they are dishonest insofar as they have devoted all their intelligence and power to overcome the results of this misunderstanding, without seeking its cause. The third party, capital, (the stockholders) is dishonest in that it closes its eyes to this condition as long as its share is sufficient and not disturbed. It is dishonest further when it permits part of the fruits of the industry, which belongs to all three sides, to be frittered away in a militant effort to correct the dishonesty of one class without attempting to ascertain its responsibility in the premise. The public is dishonest when it permits these conditions to prevail, robbing itself by permitting the continuance of laws and dishonest practices, which create the machinery and which permits artful but tricky men to play upon its sentiment and sympathies, instead of forcing the truth to the surface.

Society's duty is to awaken in each component part of the controversy a realization of the duty that it owes to itself, its associates, and the public and enforce a recognition of their interdependence upon each other, the necessity for co-operation, harmony, and economic peace, each man rendering unto the other, justice in proportion to justice rendered.

The commencement is more than half the whole.— *Aristotle.*

Business Men Needed in Congress

TODAY business is practically unrepresented in Congress. Wealth, even success, is felt so to militate against a man in public life as practically to exclude him from preferment. While I would urge business men more and more to recognize the rights of others, I would urge them quite as strongly to justly appreciate their own rights and to see that others recognize them.

We have no reason to be ashamed of being business men; we have great reason to be proud of it. Although business men, we still have political rights, and it will be far better for this country as a whole if we exercise those rights by demanding intelligent and able representation of business interests in Congress. I believe that business men should insist upon that, should organize to accomplish it.

We might well take a leaf out of the practise of the labor unions. Organized labor represents but a fraction of the wage-earners, but wields an influence that makes ridiculous, in comparison, the influence of the whole business community. We have recently seen Congress working under the watchful eyes of representatives of labor and a House of Representatives unanimously bowing to their demands.

I would not wish that business organization should go that far to influence legislation, but I would resent the charge that a legitimate presentation of views was lobbying, and I would so organize the business interests that we might, not by an expenditure of money, but by a great expenditure of time, thought, personal work, bring public opinion to a better understanding of the needs of business, to a better understanding

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that legislation must be along correct economic lines, or it will bring disaster to all. I would so organize the business men of the whole country that mere agitators, whether in Congress or out of Congress, may be held up in their true light to the public. I would openly go into the district of a demagogue and either defeat him or prove that the public of that district wanted to be represented by a known demagogue. We have stood defenseless in the eyes of the public too long. We have let go unanswered too many untrue charges. We have permitted a picture of business practise and methods to be held up to the voters until many of them honestly believe that success in business is attained by roguery, and unfavorable criticism of a proposed measure by business men is argument enough why such a measure should become a law.

I believe that the cure for many of the present evils that are afflicting business lies in the hands of business men themselves, and it will be effected in the measure in which business men see to it that the public honestly and clearly is informed. The real psychological barriers to a trade revival will then be removed.—*Frank A. Vanderlip in The Fra.*

Our interdependence upon other nations is emphasized in the $100,000,000 war tax.

We're Governed by Commissioners

WE have today the transportation system of this country almost completely under the control of a commission which the people can neither select, elect or recall. We have the currency in the control of a commission which the people of the country can neither select, elect, recall, or prevent from being appointed. We have now pending a bill providing that there shall be placed in the hands of a commission at Washington the power, capacity, and the great instrumentalities which are to turn the wheels of industry in this country from the Atlantic to the Pacific. We are now proposing to place all the great industries in the hands of a commission which the people neither select, elect, nor can they recall. We leave a mere shell of the Government, the mere outward form of the Government, in the hands of the people to flatter and satisfy their pride, while the great essential, elemental powers which deal with and control their destinies are in the hands of twenty-five or thirty men.—Hon. William E. Borah, U. S. Senator from Idaho.

Senator Borah exposed a startling condition. Our Government is running to commissions and bureaus, small bodies of men in whose hands is placed the most tremendous power. The founders of our Government never intended anything of the kind, we believe, and the people of the country should call a halt upon Congress. With our welfare, our destinies, in the hands of twenty-five or thirty men, as Senator Borah says, what becomes of our great democracy? The need of our country is big, honest men in Congress, clean men whose loyalty to country comes next to their loyalty to God. We have a few such men there now but they are outnumbered by the pin-heads and puppets. Within the past twenty-five years any fool, or crook, eligible under the law to aspire to a seat in Congress, has discovered that his chances are equal, and often greater, than those of men of well known ability and honesty. Fine

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state of affairs, but it exists. The remedy is for patriotic Americans to lay aside partisan politics and elect right men to Congress.—*The Municipal News.*

Reputation is like fire when you have kindled—you may easily preserve it; but if once you extinguish it, you may not easily kindle it again, at least not make it burn so bright as before.

Capital Wanted in Australia

THE war in Europe in which Australia is directly concerned, is not likely to be without valuable object lessons. Here in Australia we have been accustomed to hear the cry of "Down with Capital," and "Away with the Capitalist," and as if this revolutionary ideal were not sufficient there has been a deliberate crusade against the manufacturer, the trader, and the business man. Capital, whether in the forms of credit, balance in a bank, or represented in a factory or an industrial concern, has been anathema to a certain class of politicians, and every attempt has been made to impose restrictions, create armies of inspectors, and in every possible form indicate to the employer of capital and labor that his crime against Society would be measured by the success he made with his factory or his business. That this is no mere figment of the imagination is abundantly proved by the resolutions which have been passed in practically every State of the Commonwealth, and by the frequent declarations of policy against what is described as "the introduction of foreign capital."

Behold what a change has come o'er the scene! The South Australian Government has £750,000 locked up in the banks in London, and because of that fact it is doubtful whether any further progress can be made for the present with certain public works. That temporary inconvenience, however, is infinitesimal compared with the locking up of private capital and the blocking of trade channels. Those who were in the habit of denouncing the capitalist and his capital are now beseeching the employer to make sacrifices in order to meet the demands of labor, and the cry is heard throughout the length and breadth of the land for capital to come into this country in order to keep the wheels of industry moving and trade channels open. The economic lesson might have been learned in a less severe school, but there is no doubt that many fallacies born of prejudice are going to be brushed aside during the dark days through which the people of this country in common with those in other countries are likely to pass before the full influence of this disastrous war has spent its force.—*Journal of Industry* (Adelaide).

Some Reasons Why

THE reason why we have lost our merchant marine is because of hardships inflicted upon American vessels by the severest regulations, many of them drafted without consideration, at the demand of some political labor leader. It is a striking fact that the bill recently passed by Congress, to restore the American flag on the seas, authorized the President in his discretion to suspend these drastic regulations.

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This is a good time to suspend other regulations that have been hampering trade and commerce. It is a good time for the Interstate Commerce Commission to suspend the whip with which it has been lashing the railroads and for the Department of Justice to stop its reckless and unprofitable trust-busting. This has not lowered the cost of living, but increased it. It has not helped prosperity, but struck it a terrific blow. It is a good time for Congress, also, to stop its investigation, regulation and denunciation of business, big and little.

Congress has been in session constantly since President Wilson's inauguration. The country would breathe a sigh of relief if it would adjourn. It is said that the war justifies a continuance of the session, but the English Parliament has just been prorogued in the midst of a war in which it is playing a prominent part, while we are at peace with all the world.

An effort is being made to induce American capitalists to engage in the manufacture of dye stuffs and other articles which have heretofore been imported from Germany and the supply of which is now cut off. A prominent manufacturer who was asked to take up the dye stuff industry in the United States, declined to consider it. He said: "The moment American capital succeeded in establishing the dye industry in the United States, a syndicate or trust would be organized in Germany to cut prices and put us out of business. We have no protection from our government as the foreign manufacturer has from his. Our government tries to destroy us as soon as we become big, powerful and influential. Other governments strive by all their power to make their industries as big as possible."

We have tried the policy of smashing big business in this country. The people know the result. They know whether it has reduced the cost of living, increased wages, aided prosperity or helped anybody, anywhere. Why not abandon the experiment we have been trying for the last ten years and go back to the old-fashioned patriotic American plan of giving aid and encouragement to business everywhere and thus build up new factories, enlarge the old ones, maintain wages and increase the size of the pay envelope and the dinner pail?—*Leslie's.*

Public Enemies

By WALT MASON

IF you build a line of railway over hills and barren lands, giving lucrative employment to about a million hands; if you cause a score of cities by your right-of-way to rise where there formerly was nothing but some rattlesnakes and flies; if when bringing joy to others you acquire a little kale, then you've surely robbed the peepul and you ought to be in jail.

If by planning and by toiling you have won some wealth and fame, it will make no odds how squarely you have played your little game; your success is proof sufficient that you are a public foe—you're a soulless malefactor, to the dump you ought to go. It's a crime for you to prosper where so many others fail; you have surely robbed the peepul, and you ought to be in jail.

Be a chronic politician, deal in superheated air; roast the banks and money barons, there is always safety there; but to sound the note of

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business is a crime so mean and base, that the fellow guilty of it ought to go and hide his face—change the builder's song triumphant, for the politician's wail, or we'll think you've robbed the peepul and we'll pack you off to jail.

Wealthy Union Officer is Killed

JOSEPH D'ANDREA, president of the tunnel miners' and sewer diggers' union, was shot September 16th, as he left a union meeting at Hod Carriers' Hall, and died a few days later at University Hospital.

D'Andrea had been attending a meeting of the executives of his union. Hardly had he emerged from the hall, when a sawed-off shotgun was brought into action with deadly effect. "For the first time in my life," D'Andrea told the hosptial attendant, "I went out without a revolver in my pocket; and they got me." The shooting is supposed to be the outgrowth of a factional fight between rival unions, and D'Andrea is reported to have told the name of his assailant.

Coming to Chicago from Sicily about twelve years ago, D'Andrea went to work as a sewer digger. He organized the union of which he was the head, and two years ago became affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

D'Andrea lived at 913 South Halsted Street. He owned several automobiles, was greatly interested in racing, and was generally seen in a big yellow racing machine. His estate is estimated at $100,000.

Mrs. D'Andrea, who is summering in Europe, was notified by cable of the death of her husband.—*Chicago Press.*

A Declaration of Interdependence

THERE is need for a new Declaration—a worldwide Declaration of Interdependence. There is still place for the spirit of independence—there will always be. But what the world waits for today is a realization of interdependence. It is a small world. So closely are we bound together by the ties of common interest that to disturb conditions on one continent is to disturb the order of the world. How the war is illustrating that fact as it has never before been illustrated! The threads of commerce, of kinship, of mutual dependencies, make a network that encompasses the globe. Geography is trivial. Boundary-lines are for a day. And we are all brothers, here for much the same purpose, and bound for the same harbor on the shoreless seas. Wherefore why should we redden the waters with our brothers' blood, and with carnage and ruin make desolate the fair face of the earth? The language of sorrow is a universal language. The cry of little children is the same beneath every flag. And when others suffer we must suffer with them. There is no perfect independence. No nation liveth unto itself, and no nation dieth unto itself. Humanity is of more moment than the lines upon a map. And some day the dreamers' dreams will come true, and a Declaration of Interpedendence will be backed by a Parliament of the World.—*Homer Hoch in The Fra.*

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THE MISSOURI DECISION

THE overwhelming defeat of the Full Crew Bill by the people of Missouri emphasizes the importance of an appeal to the public, who can usually be depended upon to decide intelligently and fairly when the facts regarding regulative measures are set before them.

The repeal of all anti-railway laws in all the states would be equal to the advance in rates upon which so much is thought to depend. The I. C. C. has an eye solely for reducing rates and thinks not at all of reducing costs. Yet the reduction of costs and the reduction of rates must proceed together.

Federal regulation, superimposed on state regulation, is an anomaly, and relief from this condition cannot be expected through politicians who often misrepresent what the people want, and are last, as a general proposition, to appreciate the change of public sentiment.

The railways have at their command machinery through which the people may be reached, and a thorough and more comprehensive understanding must be had by both the people and the railroads of their interdependence each upon the other.

When the people understand the real facts underlying the present conditions (and they can only obtain that through the railroad leaders who are the only ones who know it), the politician will be held in check.

A number of railroads have their own periodicals which circulate freely among their employes and along their lines. This powerful leverage which could be used to an advantage is being frittered away for the purpose of exploiting the advertiser; the tone of these magazines is remarkable in their lack of policy.

The wealth of the world is approximately $450,000,000,000, of which our people have $150,000,000,000. This vast wealth is in the hands of the

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people, and is invested through the savings banks, and various fiduciary institutions.

The people who own this vast wealth are interested in keeping it at work in channels which will bring a safe and adequate return.

Railroads are facing difficulty in financing. This is due to three well known causes, the most important of which is the feeling of the masses of the people of the present-day insecurity of railway investments. This feeling of insecurity has been brought about by the pernicious activity of the various politicians, who through the myopic attitude of the press, find a ready publicity which may be classified as sensational and misrepresentative.

No man can remain an enemy of another man when once he knows him. What is true of men is true of institutions. Our railroad executives and administrators have the esteem and confidence of the stockholders and associates with whom they come in personal touch.

If the future is to develop a restoration of confidence of the public in our men of affairs, it will depend upon a continuity of the personal touch between these men and the public.

In the Missouri case above quoted, each side waged an extensive and persistent campaign. The entire state was thoroughly canvassed, resulting in the public for the first time obtaining the REAL FACTS underlying the situation, and out of 483,678 but 159,593 sided with the labor leader and politician, as against 324,085, who recognized their personal interest in the question and voiced their disapproval of the selfish law in unmistakable language.

The railroads spend millions of dollars annually in advertising, the purpose being to attract the consuming public. That they continue this expense is an indication that it pays. The short-sightedness of the daily press, which depends upon this advertising patronage for financial success, is indicated by their editorial attitude. The railroads are equally negligent in not insisting upon those, whom they sustain through their advertising patronage, playing fair, and telling the truth about the railroad situation and conditions. Intelligent, truthful, and direct publicity is the solution of the present difficulty.

It is safe to predict that politicians in Missouri will reflect this vote in their future acts toward the transportation arteries in that state.

The intelligence of the people of Missouri has been vindicated.

The confidence in the people by the railroad managements has been justified.

Over-Regulation

RECENTLY a meeting was held in Washington by the National Association of Railway Commissioners, which is composed of railway commissioners of the various states.

At this meeting, by a divided vote, the convention recommended to Congress the enactment of a law providing that the I. C. C. shall not interfere with the operation of any state-made rate or regulation.

Canada and 27 states were represented. The significance of this fact is lost sight of by the average thinker who does not comprehend that these 27 commissioners, each representing 27 different courts of inter-

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ference, are making the operation of our railroads a great deal more expensive than there is any need for.

Most of these commissions were created by the states as part of the political machinery of the state, and the laws regulating these commissions often conflict with federal laws.

It is perfectly natural that these commissions should emphasize their importance to their constituency, and they can only emphasize their importance by interference, for it is only through activities on the part of the commissioners, directed against the railroads, that the general public, in the states where they are located, is cognizant of their being and is able to judge whether or not they are earning their salaries.

If railway regulation is to be a success, it must be a success from the standpoint of the railroads, stockholders, officers, employes, and general public. It cannot be a success if the success of one individual part is built up at the expense of the other.

Over-regulation is one of the prime causes of the present deplorable condition of our railroads. Either regulation is a good thing or it is not. If it is a good thing it should be continued. If it is not, it should be eliminated. There is no intelligent reason for 57 varieties of regulation. Any benefit that may come from proper regulation may be more than overcome by over-enthusiastic, yet often mistaken attempted regulation on the part of either or all of the 57 varieties.

The value of railway regulation lies in its fair test, and it is impossible for the American people to judge as to the success or failure of regulation when there are so many having a finger in the pie. It is time the people awoke to this condition. These 57 varieties of railway commissioners are a duplication of effort, and a duplication of expense, which is unnecessary. The expense of their salaries and investigations are borne by the people. There can be no adequate compensation through such a divided authority. A campaign is needed to instruct the people on these points for when the people understand how the politicians have been saddling useless and needless expense of commissions in each and every state, federal control of the commissions will result and then railway regulation by the government will receive a fair test, not before.

It is due the I. C. C., it is due the railroads, and it is due the people, that railway regulation as outlined in the creation of the commission, shall receive a fair test.

The conflict of the laws regarding the passenger rate in the various states is showing another phase of the uneconomic system of the 57 varieties of regulation.

The Final Court

POWER used creates. Power abused destroys.

The misuse of power on the part of any one who may be entrusted momentarily with it, invariably reacts upon them and the investment is always destroyed. But the power never. For the power lies in the hands of the people.

The fact that the people do not always exercise their power is no proof that they are not conscious of it. Missouri has shown that they

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recognize the distinction between the use and the abuse of power. For the first time in the history of railroad controversies, extending over a period of 15 years, has the issue been clearly set forth in Missouri.

The lines were tightly drawn and a bitter campaign on both sides was waged to the time the polls closed. Missouri, first to curb and chastise big business, was the first to call a halt on the campaign which every reasonable and sensible man knows has been carried to extremes. By a vote of 324,085 against, to 159,593 for, they served notice upon the demagogue in and out of their legislative halls that the spirit of fairness still prevails among the people.

A year or so ago one of the railroads discharged an employe for drunkenness. In the course of events, the case was carried up and finally a decision arrived at by the leaders, demanding the reinstatement of the discharged employe or a strike would be the result. A new and revolutionary spirit developed itself in this controversy, when 150 or more of the members of these organizations who had voted for the strike, under a wrong impression of the facts in the case, demanded the right to change their vote, and being refused by the officers of the organization, appealed to the Missouri courts which enjoined the leaders from calling the strike and censured them for their apparent misrepresentation and abuse of power.

But this did not settle it. According to press despatches, from reliable sources, members of these organizations, who had the temerity to refuse to bow to the mandates of the leaders, were summarily expelled from their organizations and all their rights, and the end is not yet.

There are laws in this land against subornation of a jury, or an attempt at subornation. The court held that the members of the union were the jury and the withholding of the evidence in the case from the jury smacks of subornation. Secondly, it is not clear whether the expelling of these members for joining in the petition for the injunction is not contempt of the court granting the injunction. And thirdly, it is the first admission by indirection of the labor leaders that they hold the oath to their organization superior to the oath of citizenship to the government and courts of this land, and therein we can discern the breakers which should warn us of the rocks ahead.

Bonds

AS a general rule employers who demand bonds of their employes are those who do not depend upon their ability to select honest assistants who will have a natural bond in the mutual relationship, to hew close to the line, and render efficient and honest service.

As a general proposition, the bond in itself is a notice served upon the bonded employe that you fear he will turn crooked. This is wrong and robs him of self-respect.

America has by far the highest wage scale and by far the lowest savings bank depositors, being 9.9 per cent.

France has 2,400 petty banks which receive only limited sums from its clientele,—wage earners, petty tradesmen, etc.

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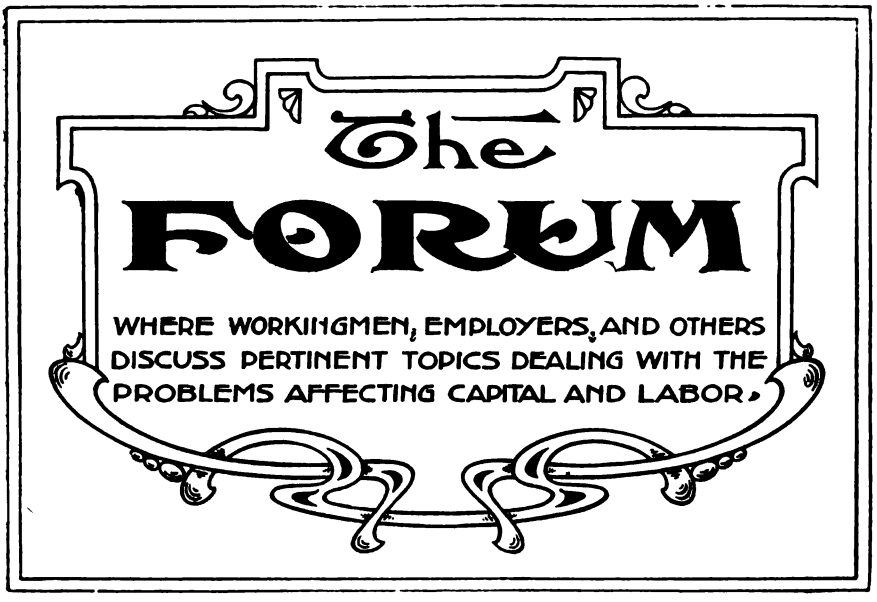

COERCIVE PRACTICES

THE MEDIATOR, Cleveland, O.

Gentlemen:—I have read your article "Look Out for the Rocks Ahead." Coming at this time it is significant.

I am one of the men who was victimized. I send you my name in confidence, and I am writing you and copying in this letter one that I received, which should be read by all earnest union railroaders, so that they can see what they are coming to unless they wake up and make their officers wake up.

The rocks are not ahead, as far as I am concerned. I am on the rocks right now. As you will read by this, I could have by perjury saved my membership in the order, to say nothing of my insurance, but I am not ready to commit perjury as yet.

I think THE MEDIATOR, if it continues as it is going, will be all right, but I am frank to say that our order seemed just as fair in the beginning, and I hope THE MEDIATOR will be sensible enough not to make the mistakes which it is now busy pointing out in others.

Yours truly,

——— ———.

Pine Bluff, Ark., Sept. 24, 1913.

Brother:—I am directed to inform you that by signing the petition for injunction against your Grand Officers, you have practically expelled yourselves from the order, as well as being liable for your pro rata share of the costs of court proceedings, which will be carried to the highest courts.

As this is a fight on the Federated Board and the Grand Officers of the three organizations, who will fight it to the end.

If you understood the petition to be for government mediation when you signed it and will send affidavit to that effect with order to have your name taken off the petition to W. C. Turner, St. Louis (in care New St. James Hotel), by special delivery not later than No. 2 Sunday,

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you may be able to save your membership in the order as well as remain on the square with your fellow workers.

Hoping you will give this serious consideration and prompt action, I am

Yours very truly in P. F.,

A. J. MAUL,
S. & T. Div. No. 251.

Trend of the Times (?)

Editor THE MEDIATOR.

Dear Sir:—A letter in your November number, signed by J. T. Kidney, speaks of the committee of clerks of Wichita, Kansas, protesting against wage increases for the firemen and enginemen. I wonder if you know the facts here in the southwest, which are more important to the union man than is the petition mentioned.

I speak of the petition for injunction against the three big brotherhoods by members of their own organization. This is a revolution, more significant in my opinion and more important than was the revolution in fact in Butte, Mont., where the union members were forced to destroy their own property in order to get rid of their own officers who were grafting upon them.

Yours truly,

FRANK BECKER.

A Similar Loss at Home

One of the most significant economic facts ever presented by any speaker since our country was established was referred to by Senator Sherman in his address. There are half a million men out of work or on short pay in Illinois. A conservative estimate is that the depression is costing labor of Illinois $1,000,000 per day. Illinois is only one of the 45 States. We hold up our hands in holy horror at the $40,000,000 a day loss in Europe and neglect to take into account that we are having a similar loss at home.—*De Kalb (Ill.) Review.*

The effort of every loyal officer and employe is to make a success of the operation of his road. The law requires only that all patrons shall be accorded just and equal treatment under similiar conditions of service rendered by the same carrier. If we can be helpful in bringing about conditions satisfactory to the great majority of their patrons, and satisfactory to the owners of those roads that are operated and capitalized upon sound business principles and not as stock-jobbing concerns, we shall feel that the world will be better for our having lived, and so shall be content.—*E. E. Clark of I. C. C.*

The depositors' annual increase in 1911 was 21.7 per cent of population, the total being $774,405,000, an average of $19.55 for every man, woman and child in France.

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The Mediator

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FORUM 30

Government Ownership; What Shall We do with Our Children.

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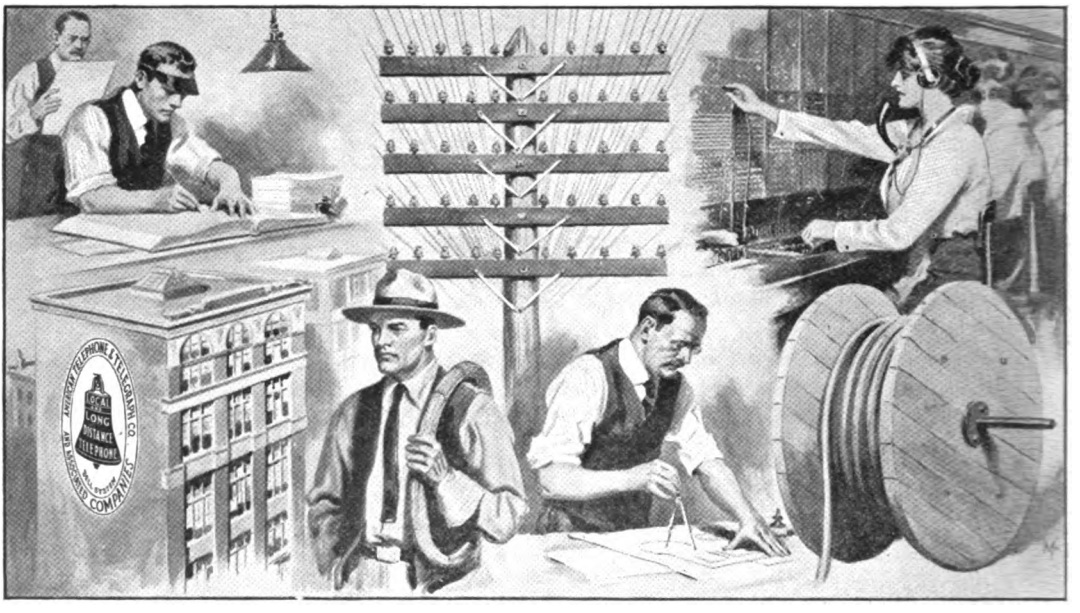

Managing the Business of 8,500,000 Telephones

Imagine a manufacturing business having millions of customers scattered over the country, with millions of accounts on its books, most of them less than $30 a year, and including a multitude of 5-cent charges.

Consider it as having shops and offices in thousands of cities, and reaching with its output 70,000 places, more than there are post offices in the United States. Think of the task of patroling 16,000,000 miles of connecting highways constantly in use.

This gives you a faint idea of the business of managing the Bell System.

Not all the 8,500,000 telephones are in use at once, but the management must have facilities always adequate to any demands for instant, direct communication.

In so vast an undertaking, every branch of the organization must work in harmony, guided by one policy. The entire plant must be managed in the light of accumulated experience, and with the most careful business judgment.

The aim of the Bell System is to make the telephone of the utmost usefulness. This requires an army of loyal men and women, inspired by a leadership having a high sense of its obligations to the public.

Animated by the spirit of service, and unhampered by red tape, the 150,000 Bell employes have the courage to do the right thing at the right time upon their own initiative. They work together intelligently as a business democracy to give the public good service.

AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY

AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES

One Policy ***One System*** ***Universal Service***

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THE MEDIATOR

VOLUME 7 CLEVELAND, OHIO, FEBRUARY, 1915 NUMBER 2

LINCOLN

By J. K. TURNER

AT every crisis in history there stands out in startling clearness the super-man, who suddenly arises from obscurity to fame, and meteor-like dashes across the firmament, and disappears, leaving in his trail the memories of his brilliancy and glory.

Two thousand years ago civilization was breaking down. The power of Rome held the world enthralled, and the age of force was at its height. Suddenly there appeared in the east the Prince of Peace, who by his policy of non-resistance reached the heart of man, broke the power of Rome, and His name today is the Hope of hundreds of millions of people.

He was the first great mediator of Christianity. His policy of peace has spread over the civilized world, winning because of the justice of its policy and the interdependence of man and man which is innate in humanity.

While it is undoubtedly true that the propaganda built up around His name has diverged from the original intention and caused warfare, suffering, and bloodshed, still in the heart of every follower of this great mediator is a recognition of the principle which was the basis of His non-resisting policy of do unto others as you would be done by. And this spirit is more prevalent today than the day in which He lived.

LINCOLN IS DEAD.

That is, he is no more a man. He has become something greater than a man. He, like Christ, stood for freedom. He also came out of the darkness, flashed across the sky, and disappeared in the twinkling of an eye when his work was accomplished, leaving for future ages the memory of the man and the completion of the work that he began. Lincoln was the second great mediator, and the *first American mediator.*

This month we celebrate his natal day. While the man is dead, his ideas and ideals are more alive today than ever before, because he was right, because he stood for right, and because he dared to stand in opposition to power which sought to spell Right with "M". He fought and laid down his life as the other Great Mediator in the interest of the Golden Rule.

THE MEDIATOR magazine, now entering upon its seventh year, adopted Lincoln as its inspiration. It has striven to emulate the spirit of the brotherhood which he so ably exploited and expounded. It believes in the future because it recognizes the present. It believes in justice because it recognizes justice in man. Various ideals arise due to differences of opinion, but the basic principle of all ideals is saturated throughout the entire organism of society in the feeling of justice, good will, and tolerance.

Looking over the year closing, a superficial view would indicate a backward step, but THE MEDIATOR cannot agree that there has been a backward step in development towards the brotherhood of man because of a war between nations. It believes that war itself is a proof of the

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growth of the spirit of brotherhood, for in the cataclysm there is linked together on one side races which are as far apart as the poles. These races are fighting shoulder to shoulder against a false ideal. Whether they do it consciously or unconsciously, that ideal is there and is recognized and must be crushed. That ideal is the enslavement of individual human freedom to a fetich of autocratic power.

Here again we note the similarity of conditions today with those of Christ's time. He fought against the autocratic power of Rome which would spell right with an "M". The nations of Europe are forgetting petty differences and are side by side endeavoring to prevent the survival of an autocracy of militarism which insists that right is spelled with an "M". To this country, the home of Lincoln, because of Lincoln, more than any other one man, the civilized world is looking for the application of the Golden Rule to the struggles of the dying system of brute force. From the land of Lincoln will arise a powerful, potent influence which will bring "peace on earth and good will to men."

A man who is constantly decrying the errors of another, very often is doing so in an effort to shield or hide his own imperfections, in this veneer of righteous indignation over the misdeeds of another.

Social Tendencies

Part I.—State Paternalism

By W. T. BETHUNE

EVEN more than the great European war the "high cost of living" is demanding the attention of the great masses of our people. For the high cost of living is something that raises direct, personal, economic problems for all of us.

In the shop, in the factory, and on the farm, in legislative halls, in the church, and in the press, through every channel for the interchange of ideas, the cause of and cure for the present high cost of living is being discussed.

In this discussion particular emphasis is put upon the fact that, with us, the per capita production of food stuffs is steadily decreasing. And that this decrease in the production of food stuffs is very generally accepted as the principal cause of the high cost of living, is proved by the great "back to the land" movement, and the clamor for better, more scientific methods in farming.

The government is being importuned to institute legislation and to appropriate funds to forward these movements back to the land and for better farming. Legislation and the spending of public money for these purposes receives popular support as a means of reducing the high cost of living. These governmental activities are taking form in the establishment of State agricultural colleges and experiment stations, supported at public expense; State assistance to county and local authorities in the establishment of county experiment farms and in the building of rural roads; granting subsidies to Farm Improvement, Stock and Plant breeding associations, etc.

Now the question arises: If improvement in farming is made pos-

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sible by governmental activities in that industry, and this improvement reduces the high cost of living, why not reduce the cost of living still further by extending governmental direction and financial aid to all other industries? Under these conditions we see no good reason why the government should confine its assistance to agriculture.

With our present day co-operative method of producing a "living" for all of us, agriculture is the basic industry on which all others rest. And for the government to make it possible for the miner, the manufacturer, the transporter and the merchant to more economically do their share of the co-operative work, will help reduce the cost of living as effectively as for the State to assist the farmer.

Then again: The State having begun this policy of paternalism, where is its logical stopping place? If the State is better fitted, than any individual or group, to discover and initiate industrial economies, why is it not also better fitted to control all the industries? The Socialists tell us, that having begun this paternalistic regime, we cannot logically stop short of government ownership and operation. And the Government's experience with the railroads would seem to give color to the Socialists' contention. With us railroad history is, in large measure, a record of State aid and regulation. In no other branch of industry have the national and state governments taken so active a part in fostering and regulating. And it is significant of what we may expect from governmental activities in other industries, that today the popular demand for government ownership and operation is more pronounced in the case of the railroads than in any other business.

The barren results, for the common good, that have come from the Government's fostering and regulating of railroads, do not give promise of any better results from government ownership and operation. Still less do they lead us to expect that the same fostering and regulating of agriculture or other industries will make it easier for the masses to make a living.

Another striking example of the futility of expecting the high cost of living to be reduced by governmental paternalism, is the failure of the Federal government's protective tariff policy as a means of making the common people more prosperous.

Twenty-five years ago we heard exactly the same arguments advanced to induce producers to leave the farms and engage in manufacturing as are today put forth to stimulate the "back to the land" movement. And exactly the same arguments were then used to justify government aid to manufacturing as are used today to justify government aid to agriculture. Protectionists pointed out that our per capita production of manufactured goods was ridiculously small as compared with England and Germany; that the great manufacturing nations are the rich nations, while agricultural nations are poor. They persuaded us to maintain high protective tariffs, so as to encourage and stimulate an increased production of manufactured goods. And they led us to believe that an increased per capita production of manufactured goods would make it easier for the common people to get a living—just as today we are told that an increased per capita production of agricultural products would reduce the high cost of living. Yet today, with an enormous increase in the per capita production of manufactured goods, instead of a corresponding decrease in the cost of these goods, we find the cost of that part of our "living" is higher now than it was twenty-five years ago.

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When this great increase in the production of manufactures has failed to make it easier for the workers to get clothing, furniture and hardware, how can we reasonably expect that an increased production of farm products will make it easier for them to get bread, potatoes and meat?

The popular belief that a decreased per capita production of food stuffs is responsible for the high cost of living, springs from the failure to recognize that, under existing industrial conditions, it is the sum total of all the wealth we produce that measures our ability to supply a living for the nation as a whole. And that we today produce more wealth per capita than ever before, is universally acknowledged. It is true that twenty-five years ago we, as a nation, produced more per capita of the farm staples than we do today; but, on the other hand, our per capita production of manufactures was far less. We then produced a large part of our manufactured goods by the indirect method. Instead of limiting our expenditure of productive energy, in agriculture, to little more than is necessary to supply the demands for farm products and expending the balance in producing manufactured goods, we concentrated our energies chiefly to the production of agricultural products and exchanged our surplus for manufactured goods from foreign countries. The hardware, furniture, and clothing we imported from Europe twenty-five years ago were paid for with the wheat, corn, and meat we exported. And the manufactured goods we imported were as truly produced by the workers on our farms as they would be if the workers, instead of farming, had expended their labor in the direct production of manufactures. Thus, twenty-five years ago, a large part of our farm labor was expended in the indirect production of manufactures. And the great volume of farm products exported in payment for manufactures was no more available for home consumption (as food stuffs) than if it did not exist. Today we have simply diverted productive industry from the indirect to the direct process of producing manufactured goods, and the sum total of farm products we have available as food stuffs is probably greater today than it was twenty-five years ago.

That wealth-producing workers are beginning to dimly sense the fact that government fostering and regulating of productive industry is, of itself, inadequate as a means of decreasing the high cost of living is evidenced by the growing demand for goverment regulation of the distribution of wealth. This movement is taking the form of agitation for legislation establishing a minimum wage for employes, and a "fair price" for cotton and other farm products, so as to insure a "decent living" for self-employing farmers.

Except to those who credit the Government with superhuman powers and believe that by the simple act of issuing a decree, declaring that every worker shall be paid five dollars per day, the government, in some miraculous manner, produces the wealth necessary to assure a good living to us all, it is evident the government cannot distribute wealth until it is produced by labor, nor can it fix prices without controlling production. Therefore it would seem that the movements for government paternalism in production and governmental control of distribution both logically tend to develop into government ownership and operation of the industries—State Socialism. And the arguments advanced in favor of these paternalistic movements are the orthodox Socialistic arguments, i. e., that great economy in production will result

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from the concentration of management and the elimination of wasteful competition, and that higher wages will result when the distribution of wealth is directly controlled by State officials who are held responsible by the voters.

The Postal business is a favorite illustration, used by the advocates of State paternalism, of the economy that comes from concentration under one head and the elimination of competition. They point out that the service is thorough; this, by reason of the economies that come with the centralization of the business under one head, the Postal Department is able to give efficient service at small cost—as proved by the low rate of postage. But the fact that the government finds it necessary to assume a close monopoly of the postal business (by making it illegal for individuals or corporations to establish postal routes in competition with it) raises a doubt as to the economy and efficiency of the present postal system. It is quite probable that the railroads and express companies could and would carry on as efficient and cheap a postal system as the government, more especially if they received the same State aid, in the form of exemption from taxation and appropriations to build postoffices and to make up deficits. However, State aid is only possible where there is a source of government revenue outside of the postal business. It is easy to build post-offices and make up deficits in the postal business, from taxes levied upon private industry. But when all industries are operated by the government there will be no outside source to draw from to make up deficits.

Nor is there good reason for believing that our productive energies would be more effectually applied under State ownership and operation. From our present experience with the political means of filling official positions, he is an optimist indeed, who expects industrial experts to hold the responsible, best-paid positions in the industrial world under the Socialistic regime. And the prospects for a more equitable distribution of wealth are by no means flattering. The State, in its essence, is a predatory institution. Most of its activities are expended in diverting the lion's share of wealth into the hands of the small minority who dominate the State, and direct the activities of government. Under State Socialism, the power of the government group over the wealth producers would be even greater than it is today, and our present chronic conflict between political factions for control of government would be intensified in proportion to the greater magnitude of the prizes at stake.

I have tried to outline what I take to be the trend of thought toward State Socialism amongst the wealth-producing workers. In a succeeding article, I expect to point out what I conceive to be the tendency in the same direction amongst monopolists.

Speeding up receives all the attention of experts. Speeding up can only counterbalance the natural slowing down resulting from the combined opposition and bitter feelings engendered by speeding up The normal business if that where the speeding up equals the slowing down.

France has the lowest wage scale and the highest percentage of savings bank depositors, being 34.6 per cent.

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Government Ownership of the Telephone

What We May Learn from the Experiences of European Countries

By DR. J. BRUNO

Expert on Telegraph and Telephone Service and Economies, and Former Professor in the University of Berlin, Germany

WHEN anyone wishes to prove a proposition, the first thing he thinks of is statistics, because, like the letters of the alphabet, statistics can always be so arranged as to spell anything the author desires.

The proposition that the Government should own and operate the telegraph and telephone in this country is no exception to the rule. We have had no end of statistics conclusively "proving" the proposition, which, by a slight shift in the figures, as conclusively disproves it, leaving the average layman bewildered and as much in the dark as ever.

There is no need for all this. We have, fortunately, illustrations from experience showing exactly what happens when the telegraph and telephone are taken out of private hands and intrusted to public management. History always teaches, if we are willing to learn.

In 1870 the British Government took over the operation of its telegraph service. This was done upon the basis of an elaborate official report containing minute statistics showing, almost down to the exact dollar, the number of millions in profits the operation of the service would yield to the British Exchequer. On the strength of the statistics, this move was hailed as "an excellent business proposition." It is now more than 40 years since the service was taken over. The experiment has cost the Government, according to its own calculation, a clear loss of $110,000,000, excluding interest and other charges, or, taking everything into account, about an even $200,000,000. The "excellent business proposition" is now costing British taxpayers, in annual losses, from $5,000,000 to $10,000,000,—the large majority of the taxpayers, of course, never having occasion to use the service to which they have contributed so handsomely.

The British Post Office, which operated the telegraph, was unwilling to admit that its telegraph failure was the result of poor management. Instead, it chose to regard the telephone, which had come up in the meantime, as the real cause of its downfall, by virtue of the inroads it made on the telegraph business. This Government jealously found expression in innumerable restrictions imposed upon the private development of the telephone, seriously hampering its proper operation and practically throttling its natural growth. The public grew impatient, and finally demanded that if the Government was determined not to allow private management free play, it might better acquire and operate the telephone itself. There was also some hope that the losses on the telegraph would be recouped by gains on the telephone.

In 1896, therefore, the British Post Office acquired all the long distance telephone lines in the country. Keen disappointment followed. The profits flowing from the operation of this service strangely vanished with Government management. The long distance telephone turned out to be only another dissolute son by adoption of the Post Office parent.

Again the Post Office authorities demurred to the charge of mis-

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management. The trouble, they said, was that the *local* telephone service was still in private hands. Once that was taken over, all would be well, and the past would be forgotten. But financial obstacles were in the way. The purchase of the local or exchange telephone service was a matter of no small financial importance.

Without the slightest scruple, the Post Office authorities set about willfully to depreciate the property of the private companies by ruinous Government competition, so as to "reduce" the obstacle—a course of action which has since been scathingly denounced by Parliamentary leaders as utterly at variance with all known standards of commercial integrity. Relying upon the superior advantages of the Post Office in the matter of free rights of way and resort to taxpayers for any losses incurred by failure, local competition was established in London, and municipalities were granted licenses to establish competition with private companies elsewhere. Only six municipalities took advantage of the Post Office offer, four of which were glad to sell out after a short but disastrous experience. The Post Office itself was forced to compromise in London with the National Telephone Company, the private company operating there. Nothing was then left for the Post Office but to purchase the private systems when their licenses expired, which was done on December 31, 1911.

Again history repeated itself. Under Post Office management, and without a single change in the rates, the profits from private operation disappeared almost entirely in the very first year of Government management, and this, despite the fact that the National Telephone Company had been heavily handicapped with royalties (it turned over 10 per cent of annual gross revenue to the State), income and other taxes, way leave charges (for rights of way), and by having to raise capital in the open market at a relatively high rate of interest.

Things have since gone from bad to worse. But the financial results are by no means the worst effects which have followed the Government's purchase. By far the most important result of State operation has been the effect it has had upon the service. It was as if a cyclone had struck it. The press from one end of the land to the other echoed and re-echoed the complaints of thousands of maddened subscribers. The Postmaster-General complained that he could not dine out, either in public or in private, without "hearing grumbles about those confounded telephones." The newspapers have picturesquely described the recent attempt made by Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, to get a long distance telephone connection—waiting an hour while Post Office officials frantically strove to effect the connection, and finally giving it up as hopeless; and the rage of Mr. Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, who got so angry over the freaks of the telephone the other day that he flung the receiver on the floor. The whole situation has been summed up by Major O'Meara, the British Government Consulting Engineer:

> "After spending over sixteen years out of my thirty-two years public service in the British Post Office Department I have come definitely to the conclusion that a Government Department is, as a rule, an unsuitable organization to manage services of the character of the telegraphs and telephones. And the people in this country have been finding this out for themselves during the past two years."

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In Italy, too, there has been a comparatively recent substitution of public for private management of the telephones—the telegraph having been a Government monopoly from the start. The same thing happened in Italy that happened in England, namely, a policy of Government restriction was embarked upon, with a view to protecting the Government telegraph against encroachment by the private telephone, whose efficient management was securing a large share of the wire communication traffic. The public finally concluded that a Government telephone would be preferable to a Government-crippled private telephone. So in 1907, the Government went into the telephone business, confining itself, however, to the acquisition of the most important companies in the large cities—the "cream" of the territory. Here again, however, profits disappeared with State management although exact results are hidden in the mists of Government accounting.

Far worse, however, has been the loss to the public in the quality of the service (the situation is referred to in the Italian press as "the telephone crisis"). Three years of Government operation, and the deterioration in service reached a point where, as the result of an investigation, it was shown that the average time required to get a telephone connection in Rome was twelve times that in New York. The situation cannot have improved since then, in view of the testimony in the Italian Parliament recently that in a number of cases a railroad journey is speedier than a long distance telephone call, or in view of the fact that, a few weeks ago, *La Tribuna* complained that "if it had not been for the inconvenience of crossing the Tiber, it would have been better to go and deliver the (telephone) message in person."

Another comparatively recent change from private to public ownership is that which took place in Norway, the most important property involved being the telephone exchange at Christiania. Without going into details, it may be significant to remark that the Christiania Board of Trade was recently forced to petition the Government for relief from the deteriorated service which has been furnished "ever since the State required the Christiania exchange." The *Aftenposten* sums up the situation by concluding that "this state of affairs must be ascribed solely to the deplorable fact that the State has acquired the Christiania exchange."

In other European countries whose example may be worthy of note, such as, for instance, Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, and Switzerland, the telegraph and telephone have either been a Government monopoly from the start, or else the change from private to public operation took place so long ago that the characteristics of the change would not be as prominent as in England, Italy and Norway, although, of course, it cannot be ignored that the large deficits from the operation of the services in these countries, together with the extremely inferior quality of the service which is furnished, are not entirely without lesson.

However, it is especially significant that in those European countries where telephone operation is still in private hands, we find the most extensive development of the service; and development, obviously, is the most expressive criterion of public satisfaction that can be obtained. In Denmark, for instance, where telephones are mostly under private operation, the number of telephones, in proportion to population, is twice as great as in Germany or Switzerland, two and one-half times as great as in Great Britain, three times as great as in The Netherlands, five times

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as great as in Belgium, and six times as great as in France—all these countries maintaining a Government service.

Results, in short, have served only to emphasize the principle long established by economic thought, that governmental limitations, political and financial, refuse to permit with impunity any invasion into the commercial domain; and this truth is especially brought home to us when Government seeks to experiment with such infinitely complex utilities as the telephone and the telegraph, whose success so vitally depends upon an absolute guaranty of stability in planning and financing —a complete freedom from the gusts of opposing policies, political or otherwise.

When we consider the disappointing experiences of European Governments with their telephone and telegraph enterprises and reflect that the largest of these enterprises is about one-eighth as large as our own, we cannot but view with grave misgiving the vastly more serious consequences that would ensue in this country if we were to set at naught the warning furnished by foreign example, and embark without thought to the future upon an experiment equally at variance with sound theory and known experience.

The really progressive man is the one who helps in the world's progress—not the one who preaches—but the one who by his acts forces progress and by the forcefulness assists others to progress.

The Federated Board Rebuked

By J. K. TURNER

THE Order of Railway Conductors has in predominating numbers men of mature years, men whose experiences in life cover a wide range, and whose positions as semi-officials and representatives of the railroads, naturally tend to make them conservative and careful.

Their officers as a general rule have been men who have forced the respect of the opposition by the spirit of fairness displayed and their ability to meet the issue squarely upon its merits with a liberal "give and take" policy. Taken all in all, the Order of Railway Conductors is on a par with that of the engineers for dignity, sobriety and exercise of good judgment.

These facts are what make the actions of certain officers, high in the councils of the organization, anent the Cotton Belt controversy startling in the extreme. In the January MEDIATOR the dispute was commented upon in an editorial "The Final Court," and two letters from members of the organization were published in full. Since the publication of the January issue, the Federated Board, in view of the injunction granted by the court, took a second strike vote and the matter went to mediation. The Federal mediators, after investigation, advised the leaders to withdraw their demands for conductor Tillman's reinstatement. As the demand for Tillman's reinstatement was the whole cause of the original trouble, the findings of the board naturally settled the controversy and the danger of strike was over.

The history of this controversy illustrates in a forceful manner the

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trend of the labor movement as a whole, away from a voluntary association to one of compulsion and dictatorship on the part of the leaders. After the strike vote had been taken, a large number who had voted in favor of a strike, through non-comprehension of the facts, requested that their strike vote be changed. This was refused by the leaders and the courts of the land were successfully appealed to. Members who signed the petition for the injunction were expelled from the organization. The findings of the mediators are a justification of the protest of the members who desired to live up to the spirit of their organization.

The rank and file of the brotherhoods will make greater progress for their organization if they take home the lesson of this incident. A leadership that is elective must of necessity follow the directions of their constituents and when the leadership is composed of men who attempt to abuse the power entrusted to them, it ceases to be a voluntary organization and is in the process of disintegration.

It is up to the spirit of fair play demonstrated by these protestants to check the actions of their leaders, thus preventing the wrecking of their organizations through the arrogant tactics of a paid leadership.

Many a man mistakes the sound of his own hammer for that of others.—*Elbert Hubbard.*

Contrasting Policies

IN any of the countries of Europe, the first indication that a new industry is about to take root, would be a signal for genuine rejoicing. Every encouragement is afforded to it in its early days, and every mile post of progress which has been left behind, yields nothing but satisfaction.

What a contrast between conditions here and in Germany, where the consistent purpose of government has been to encourage widely diverse forms of economic effort, to bring about the highest excellence in all fields of business and industry, and to hold out enticing rewards to those who render conspicuous service to the Fatherland, in various fields. Is it any wonder that German industrial progress has amazed the world?

Yet considering the obstacles which business has had to contend with here, how much more amazing has been our own progress.

Successful business is or is not a good thing. If it is not, then let us get rid of it at once, and cease our talk about this being the land of opportunity and the square deal.

On the other hand, if successful business is a good thing, let us cease these violent and palpably malicious attacks upon it. Let us understand once and for all, regrettable though it may be, that no industry can afford to pay the bulk of its employes' wages equivalent to the salary of the professional man or business man. We may as well face the plain fact that even if the average corporations were run solely for the benefit of its employes, the position of the latter would undergo no amazing betterment.

The truth is that patient people everywhere are at last beginning to grow restless, listening to the attacks upon American industry by politicians and selfish men of leisure.—*"American Economist."*

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The Circle of the Labor Movement*

By J. K. TURNER

Chapter XI.

Socialism of the Incas

ANOTHER example of the socialistic state was found by Pizarro in Peru among the Incas. Historians, in commenting upon this remarkable and wonderful civilization, describe it as complete in every respect. The nation was divided into four great provinces, each placed under a governor or viceroy who ruled with the assistance of the councils in different departments.

The nation at large was distributed into decades, or bodies of ten. Every tenth man, or head of a decade, had supervision of the rest, being required to see that they enjoyed all the rights and immunities to which they were entitled.

The people were still further divided into bodies of 50, 100, 500 and a thousand, each with an officer having general supervision and authority in matters of police.

The whole empire was distributed into sections or departments of ten thousand with a governor from the Inca nobility who controlled the territorial officers of the districts.

These were also the tribunals of justice. These judges had their authority and received support from the Crown. They were obliged to determine every suit in five days from the time it was brought, and there was no appeal from one tribunal to another. The laws were few and exceedingly severe. They related almost wholly to criminal matters. The laws were simple and their application easy, and the people were protected from corruption of the judiciary by a board of visitors who patrolled the kingdom at certain times to investigate the character and conduct of the magistrates, and any violation of duty was punished in a most exemplary manner.

Their laws respecting property were the most remarkable features of the Peruvian polity. The whole territory of the empire was divided into three parts, one for the Sun (the god of the people), another for the Incas, and the last for the people. Which of the three was the largest is doubtful as the proportion differed materially in different provinces. Distribution was made as each new conquest added to the monarchy, but the proportions varied according to the population, and the greater or less the amount of land consequently required for the support of the inhabitants.

The lands assigned to the Sun furnished the revenue to support the temples and maintain the priesthood. That reserved for the Inca went to support the royal state, as well as the numerous households, and supplied the various exigencies of the government. The remainder was divided per capita in equal shares among the people.

It was provided by law that every Peruvian should marry at a certain age. When this event took place, the community or district in which he lived furnished him with a dwelling. A lot of land was assigned to him sufficient for his own maintenance and that of his wife. An added portion was granted for every child, the amount allowed for

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a son being double that for a daughter. The division of the soil was renewed every year and the possessions of the tenant were increased or diminished according to the number in his family.

The same arrangement was observed with reference to the Curacas (nobility) except only that a domain was assigned to them corresponding with the dignity of their stations.

A more thorough and effectual agrarian law than this cannot be imagined. In other countries where such a law has been introduced, its operation, after a time, has given way to the natural order of events, and, under the newer intelligence and thrift of some and the prodigality of others, the usual vicissitudes of fortune have been allowed to take their course and restore things to their natural inequality.

The terriory was cultivated wholly by the people, the lands belonging to the Sun were first attended to. They next tilled the lands of the old, of the sick, the widowed and the orphans, and of the soldiers engaged in actual service; in short, all that part of the community who from bodily infirmity or other causes were unable to attend to their own concerns.

The people were then allowed to work on their own ground, each man for himself, but with a general obligation to assist his neighbor when any circumstances—the burden of a young and numerous family—might demand it. And lastly, they cultivated the lands of the Inca.

A similar arrangement prevailed with respect to the different manufacturers as to the agricultural products of the country.

The flocks of Llamas or Peruvian sheep were appropriated exclusively to the Sun and the Inca. The regulations and care for the breeding of these flocks were prescribed with the greatest minuteness and a sagacity which excited the admiration of the Spaniards who were familiar with the great migratory flocks of the merino in their own country.

At the appointed season all were sheared and the wool was deposited in public magazines. It was dealt out to each family in such quantities as would be sufficient for its wants and was consigned to the female part of the household who were well instructed in the business of spinning and weaving. When this labor was accomplished, and the family provided with coarse but warm covering, suited to the cold climate of the mountains (in the lower country cotton furnished in a like manner by the crown took to a certain extent the place of wool) the people were required to labor for the Incas.

Officers were appointed for the purpose of superintending the distribution of the wool so that the manufacture of the different articles should be entrusted into the most skillful hands. They did not leave the matter here, but entered the dwellings from time to time and saw that the work had been faithfully executed and that no one should be unprovided with the necessary apparel.

Idleness was a crime in the eyes of the law and as such was severely punished. Industry was publicly commended and stimulated by reward.

All the mines of the kingdom belonged to the Incas. Every Peruvian of the lower class was a husbandman, and with the exception of those specified, provided for his own support by the cultivation of the land. A small portion of the community was instructed in the mechanical arts, some of them of the more elegant kinds subservient for the purposes of luxury and ornament. The demand for these was chiefly

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limited to the sovereign and his court but the labor of a large number of the hands was exacted for the execution of the great public works which covered the land.

The nature and amount of the services required was determined by commissioners well instructed in the resources of the country and in the character of the inhabitants in the different provinces. This information was obtained by an admirable regulation which has scarcely a counterpart in the annals of civilization.

A record was kept of all births and deaths throughout the country and an exact return of the population was made to the government every year. Furnished with these statistical details, it was easy for the government to distribute the work among the respective provinces best qualified to execute it.

The task of apportioning the labor was assigned to the local authorities and great care was taken that it should be done in such a manner that while the most competent hands were selected, too much should not fall disproportionately upon any.

The provinces of the country furnished persons peculiarly suited to different employment, which usually descended from father to son. Thus one district supplied those most skilled in working the mines, another the more curious workers in metals or in wood, and so on. The artisan was provided by the government with materials and no one was required to give more than a stipulated portion of his time to public service. He was then succeeded by another for a like term, and while thus engaged they were maintained at the public expense.

By this constant rotation of labor, no one was over-burdened and each man was granted sufficient time to provide for the demands of his household. Spanish authority makes the statement that it was impossible to improve on this system of distribution so carefully was it accommodated to the conditions and comfort of the artisan.

The security of the working class seems to have been ever kept in view in the regulations of the government, and these were so discreetly arranged that the most wearing and unwholesome labors as those of the mines occasioned no detriment to the health of the laborer.

Agricultural product and the manufactures were stored in magazines, scattered over the different provinces. The design was to supply the people in seasons of scarcity and occasionally furnished relief to individuals whom sickness or misfortune had reduced to poverty. These magazines were found by the Spaniards on their arrival, stored with the various products of the country. The magazines of grain in particular would frequently have sufficed for the consumption of the adjoining district for several years.

An inventory was taken every year with surprising regularity and precision. These inventories enabled the Inca at a glance to observe the results of industry and the needs of the people. So wise were the regulations that no man could be rich and no man could be poor in Peru, but all did enjoy a competence. Ambition, avarice, the love of change, the morbid spirit of discontent—those passions which agitate the minds of men—found no place in the bosom of the Peruvian. The very condition of his being seemed to be at war with change. He moved on in the same unbroken circle in which his fathers moved before him and in which his children were to follow.

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It was the object of the Incas to infuse into their subjects a spirit of perfect acquiescence in the established order of things, and in this they fully succeeded.

The Spaniards are emphatic in their testimony that no government could have been better suited to the people and no people more devoted to the government.

Their system of levies for military purposes were characterized by the same rotation. The levies were drawn from the different provinces and regular drills took place twice, or three times a month.

With the increase in population in later days of the empire, the Peruvian army got to be very large. Contemporaries assure us that the force in the field was 200,000 men. Troops were divided into bodies corresponding to our battalions and companies, led by officers. They rose in regular gradation from the lowest subaltern to the Inca noble, who was entrusted with the general command.

Their arms consisted of bows and arrows and of battle axes and slings with which they were expert. The spears and arrows were tipped with copper and bone, often with silver and gold. Their defensive armor consisted of shield and buckler and a close tunic of quilted cotton, similar to that used by the Mexicans.

Each company had its particular banner and the Imperial Standard displaying the glittering device of the rainbow, the ensign of the Incas, indicating their claim as children of the skies.

Their system of communication through the country was perfect and enabled them in a short time to draw levies from distant quarters.

The country is still covered with remains of the military works constructed of granite. At regular intervals magazines were established filled with grain, supplies and different munitions of war with which they always were supplied. When the Spaniards invaded the country, they provided their armies for a long time with the provisions found in these magazines.

The Peruvian soldier was forbidden to commit any trespass on the inhabitants, and violations of the order were punished with death. In every stage of war, the Inca was open to propositions of peace, and although he sought to reduce his enemies by carrying off their harvest and distressing them, he allowed his troops to commit no outrages on persons or property.

"We must spare our enemies," one of the Peruvian princes is quoted as saying, "or it will be our loss, since they and all that belong to them must soon be ours."

In this same considerate spirit they were most careful to provide for the security and comfort of their own troops. The first step of the government after the reduction of a country was to introduce the worship of the Sun. A division of territory was made on the same principle with that adopted throughout the kingdom. Consideration of the division for the people was regulated by the population, but the share of each individual was uniformly the same. Every respect was shown to the ancient usages and laws of the land as far as was compatible with the fundamental institutions of the Incas.

Immediately after the conquest of a country, the leaders and their families were removed for a time to the capital, where they learned the language of the capital and became accustomed to the general policy of

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the government. They experienced marks of favor which would attach them warmly to the principles of the Incas.

Under the influence of these sentiments, they were again sent to rule over their vassals, leaving their eldest sons at the capital as a guarantee of their own fidelity.

Teachers were provided in towns and villages throughout the land who gave instructions to all even to the humblest classes, thus creating a universal language which was encouraged by the law, so that no one could be raised to any office of dignity or profit, who was not thoroughly familiar with the same.

The paternalism of the government was carried to every extreme in the consideration of the comfort and convenience of the people. They were careful that when policy would dictate the removal of portions of the inhabitants in newly conquered territory that they were removed to climates most congenial with their own. Inhabitants of cold countries were not transplanted to a warm climate, or vice versa. Even their habitual occupations were consulted.

The history of the Peruvian institutions shows that succeeding Incas seemed desirous only to tread in the paths and carry out the plans of their predecessors. Great enterprises were made possible by this plan, extending as they did for three generations. Thus while all acted on a regular plan without any eccentric or retrograde movement to betray the presence of the different individuals, the state appeared always to be under the guidance of a single hand, as if through one long reign, of civilization and conquest.

The aim of its institutions was domestic quiet. The astonishing mechanism of the Peruvian policy could only have resulted from the combined authority of opinion and positive power in the ruler to an extent unprecedented in the history of man.

Yet that it should have so successfully gone into operation and so long endured in opposition to the taste and prejudice and the very principles of our nature is a strong proof of a generally wise and temperate administration of the government. A policy pursued by the Incas for the prevention of the evils that might have disturbed the order of things is well exemplified in their provisions against poverty and idleness. In these they rightly discern the two great causes of disaffection in a populous community. The industry of the people was secure not only by their compulsory occupations at home, but their compulsory employment on those great public works which covered every part of the country, and which still bear testimony in their decay to their primitive grandeur.

While history does not specify directly the evolution of this civilization in Peru, it is the result of a system similar to that advocated by socialism, and it is the logical successor to any system which does not recognize the differentiation in men.

The similarity of its destruction, with that of the civilization of Lycurgus, Numa Pompilius, and Solon, and the ease with which they were conquered by the Spaniards as compared with the sturdy resistance offered the same people by their brothers in Mexico, the Aztecs, proves that the laws of nature always operate in the same direction. The removal of prime necessity weakens the resisting power of man. Pizarro's conquest of the Peruvians was child's play as compared with Cortez' conquest of the Aztecs. Spain could never have conquered the

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Aztecs were it not for the fact that they were constantly at war with each other and the diplomacy of Cortez in bringing to his banners the inhabitants of the surrounding countries who resented the onslaughts and attacks of the Montezumas. One history in commenting on the easy victory of the Spaniards over the Peruvian states that the civilization itself was responsible for it, for it created a nation of weaklings, and as no man under that civilization had the spirit of ambition within his soul, patriotism was unknown to them.

Thus, in these two civilizations, that were crushed in the onward march of the civilizations which we are the descendants of, we have the two opposites; one nation becoming a ready prey to the other because of the constant discontent of the masses against the rulers and the second a more easy conquest because of the contentment of the masses in the government and their rulers.

Socialism, as it is taught today by both the Marxian and Fabian, embraces practically all of the features of the Communistic ideas of which the first record in the history of man is written by Lycurgus, proving that the idea of equality and brotherhood is not peculiar to our time and age, nor is it a concomitant of the present civilization's development of intelligence, for we find both in the prehistoric days of this country under the rule of the Montezumas and the Incas, the same spirit moving out at opposite extremes among the people.

(To be continued)

The world's progress cannot be accomplished by one man or one set of men, but by their influence upon others can help in the progress of the world.

Vale 1914

By J. K. TURNER

BY the time these lines are read, 1914 will have passed into history, and the New Year will have been fairly started on its procession through the ages.

It is customary in all business houses to take inventory at the end of the year, for the purpose of ascertaining just what the results of the year have been. It will be pertinent at this time for us to take inventory of the year, cast up the balance, and see whether or not 1914 can be considered a favorable or unfavorable year from the standpoint of the American people.

Recently, I received a letter from a friend, in which he said: "Let us congratulate ourselves that there is much improvement in the present outlook for improvement during 1915, which I am sure all will welcome, and let us hope that the *nightmare of 1914* is forever back of us."

For several months past we have heard complaints from all sources about the terrible condition of business and the poverty-stricken condition of industry. In Chicago it is reported that 10 per cent of the population is being fed by charity. In Cleveland the popular newspapers have opened up bread lines; the director of charity is complaining of the inability of that organization, with the funds at its disposal, to meet the wants of the people and prevent suffering.

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Statistics, which are considered reliable, state that there are upwards of 3,000,000 idle people, who are anxiously seeking an opportunity to make a livelihood. All of which would indicate that the conditions of affairs at the close of the year as a whole are unsatisfactory.

It is unquestionably true that we have gone through a period, the experiences of which have not been at all pleasant. As a general rule the people are impatient of these recurrent depressions in business, and are everywhere asking for the reason why our prosperity should be checked.

Previous to the opening of the war, there was a wide divergence of opinion as to the conditions and the causes. With the opening of the war, the opinion seemed to prevail that the war is in no small measure responsible for the condition of which we complain. It does not need any exposition here that the year 1914 as a general proposition cannot compare favorably with its predecessors. But there is another angle to this discussion.

Everything man-made is imperfect. It is built according to the intelligence of the builders, and it is as perfect and no more so than their combined intelligence. The healthy man can sympathize with illness but he does not understand it unless he experiences it, in periods of perfect health, he never anticipates ill health. He goes on the supposition that his health and strength will always be at their maximum, yet experience of the ages has taught us that there is a line of demarcation in the life of every man. This line of demarcation is reached by some at different periods in life, according to the intelligence with which the health of the individual is conserved. The man who takes care of his body and conserves his health and strength does not reach the line of demarcation as early as does the man who ignores all laws of health and abuses the powers which make for healthy development.

Consequently, it is only through periods of exhaustion, sickness, and disease that man really learns to conserve and be economical in the expenditure of the vital forces which differentiate between the healthy, normal body and a diseased, painful one.

Many men live to eat, and others eat to live. It is the latter who sustain their energy, and it is the former who fritter away their energies, and are face to face with the results, while the former, in a measure, are healthy and strong. So it is in business.

We are a youthful nation, just attaining our maturity. Like the youth we have been full of extravagance and lack of thought of the morrow. The laws which rule man in the physical apply to the creations of man as well. These recurrent periods of cessation in our mad scramble are but periods which nature provides as a warning that we may not entirely destroy, through lack of conservation, the benefits which the combined intelligence of the combined people has made possible.

1914 can be considered the best year of the country or the worst. If it is the worst for us, it will be because we have failed to observe the warnings that conditions give us, and they will be recurrent and more frequent.

If, however, we take home the lesson and recognize that due to the prosperity, which we so sadly missed in the year just closing, we had become blind to our responsibilities to ourselves, and frittered away our sustenance in riotous living and extravagances, then will 1914 be marked

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the year of a permanent advance toward the ultimate goal of further development, wealth, health and prosperity.

Every one regardless of his position in life who has lived up to his means in the prosperous times, and made no provision for a rainy day, has been forced by the year just closing to economize. If he is honest with himself and takes stock of the year as a whole, as compared with other years, he will find that aside from a matter of personal pride, his condition is practically better, due to the fact that he was compelled to practice economy.

It has been found in industry that curtailment necessary to meet reduced income, resulted in discoveries of wasteful extravagance in all lines of trade, which, if accepted as a standard for the future will bring four-fold return in the years to come.

Recently some of our big transportation systems pointed out that they had saved, in a six-month period through co-operative effort of every constituent part of the organization interested, three-quarters of a million dollars in fuel without any deterioration in the service or any reduction in the tonnage. So important was this considered that the president of one road took notice of the results and issued a letter of commendation addressed to every department responsible, even down to the track walker, who made it a practice to pick up the coal along the right of way and pile it up so that it could be used.

Much credit has been given to the efficiency behind this idea and laudations have gone through the press inspired by the admiration of the results of efficiency resulting from this increased harmony as illustrated by the *personal interest of every man* from the track walker to the general superintendent.

But there is another side to this story and that is the side that THE MEDIATOR desires to emphasize.

Is not this fact an indictment upon the wasteful extravagance *that was the rule on this road, which cost the stockholders upwards of a million dollars per year!*

If this action forced upon these railroads by the conditions in 1914 is taken as a standard for future efficiency, 1914 will be a red letter year and an insignia of prosperity.

It is true that human nature follows the line of least resistance. It is true that a man with a full stomach cannot appreciate the cravings of hunger as applied to him. He is a fatalist in this respect. He always expects the natural laws to make an exception for him and it is through recurrent periods of depression, suffering and hardships that man realizes that he is human and liable to err; also that he is a creature of natural laws as is every other creation of nature.

The time of plenty is the time to prepare for famine. In the preparation for a famine lies the insurance against a recurrence of famine. If the American people as a whole will become as thrifty and provident in their every-day affairs as they are in their sanitary affairs, these recurrent business depressions and consequent sufferings will become less and less frequent for they will have provision laid by for a rainy day.

Summing up, what benefit was 1914 to us? It was a benefit as it forced us to slow down and take inventory of ourselves. It pointed out that we were too prosperous and we thought that prosperity never could

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end. This gave us a false and fictitious idea of our necessities and we became extravagant, wasted our energies, money and sustenance. 1914 has shown us we can get along with less if we have to, and be just as contented and healthy and cheerful at the end of the year.

There are none of us so well balanced that we can criticize the other fellow's narrow views.

The By-Product

By J. K. TURNER

THE by-product of every industry is the factor which will produce all the profits of the future.

This by-product is interest of the unit of production in the whole product.

The seed of this by-product is in all units.

This seed of interest like all seeds, is best fructified by its affinity—mutual interest.

Labor leaders and demagogues only succeed in arousing an interest in their ideas by taking and showing an interest in the units. They give these units a means of expression. Everyone has ideas (more or less valuable) and delights in expressing them and will look with favor on any means that will permit expression.

The demagogue goes to the man first in order to bring the man to him—his success is in proportion to the mutual interest created between them.

Every industry has a majority of non-conformists to the tactics that are a burden on business. This is true even of every man in the industry who belongs to and obeys the mandates of the union.

These non-conformists are following the only line of expression open to them. They resent being mere numbers or cogs in the machinery of industry. Hence they adhere to the union because it gives them a means of expression.

Open up an avenue of interest between the unit and the whole institution. They may be slow to close up at first, but they will soon see the benefits their interest in the whole problem will bring them.

They recognize values more quickly than is understood and admitted, this is proven in their adherence to the union as the only way to advance their interests.

They may and will doubt the honesty of the intent at first, even as they resist and resent the stop watch methods of efficiency experts. But once let them realize not only the honesty of purpose behind the idea but the value to them and the whole business and their co-operation will be assured.

From the standpoint of unions and its results to the members, no one can doubt but that (till recently) the money it cost them has been well spent. That it will pay in the future is doubtful. This fact shows that money spent to create an interest of the man in the whole will pay big to both interested parties, but the results must be fairly divided and

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apportioned; for labor is equally entitled to its honest and just share as is capital.

The losses in money, effort and honest relationship due to trying to take an unfair advantage of labor, proves it to be the costliest of economic systems; if continued in, will result in the breaking down of the present system of civilization, for civilization can only survive through the harmony and co-operation of all parts.

But two millions of seventeen millions being organized shows that 15,000,000 do not adhere to the ideas of force. They would welcome any system that would give them a voice without the suppression of their individual identity and consequent restriction of their liberty.

No man ever gets a better position by dragging down the reputation of another.

Suspicion Kills Progress

By E. F. CILLEY

IT seems to be a human trait to more readily see and remember the errors of omission and commission of our fellows than their thoughtful and beneficial acts. That this is not characteristic of any one sex or any one class of society is quite clear, if we will but take the time to study ourselves and those around us.

We may receive numerous favors from our relatives, friends, and employers, and yet if we are affected in any way by an error of omission or commission on their part, the fair treatment of the past is quickly forgotten and we are ready to censure and condemn.

The foregoing is very true in the relations that exist between labor, (both organized, and unorganized) and employers, also between the component parts of various labor organizations.

It is in a way remarkable, that although the great mass of people know what constitutes a square deal to them, their judgment is narrow and warped when it comes to giving a square deal to their employers, to their fellow men and to the members and leaders of the organizations to which they belong.

The latter point is brought out quite clearly in the unjust criticism which has recently been meted out to the officials of the different organizations who have had charge of the conduct of the shopmen's strike on both the Harriman Lines, and Illinois Central Railroad, because they gave notice to those affected that strike benefits would be discontinued after a certain date.

It would seem that because they had the moral courage to take action which they felt was only fair to the entire membership of the organization to which they belonged, some of those directly affected forgetting all the efforts their leaders had previously exerted in their behalf have now turned from adulation to condemnation.

The members on those roads who have been on a strike for so many months are not giving either their fellow members or their leaders a square deal, if they fail to realize that these leaders are no more their leaders than of the union members in other railroad and industrial shops, and that to the support of these other members they owe much. And

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all fairness demands that in taking any action which involves the members of the different organizations, careful thought should be exercised by each member to give all a square deal.

Organized labor has not made the progress that it should, for numbers do not necessarily denote progress. The members are mostly to blame, they choose their leaders, and it is up to them to instruct these leaders as to the policy they wish advanced. As it is they elect their leaders, and leave the policy up to them, and then often criticize and condemn them for the course pursued, the members as a whole shun responsibility although they must bear the burden if mistakes are made.

The members will not attend their lodge meetings, permitting from 10 to 20 per cent to run the business of the lodge. No organization, be it social, fraternal, political or of labor, can hope to get the best results and to make progress if only a small minority attends to its business.

It is the duty of every member to read the constitution of his organization and study it carefully, then to attend the meetings and see that the local conducts its business in accordance with it and for the benefit of all concerned.

Labor must put aside its suspicious attitude toward its leaders, each other and its employers, if it is to make a full measure of progress and put an end to strife, an expense which all must bear.

It is high time to realize that there has been a big change in the attitude of the heads of our industries and railroads, that the old spirit of suspicion and antagonism toward employes has been replaced with a desire to meet them in a spirit of co-operation and square dealing. Labor has nothing to lose by adopting a like attitude; by building up among its members a spirit of absolute fairness and co-operation in its dealings with its employers and instructing its leaders as to its wishes in this respect.

No efficiency system can be effective until our ideas of values are changed. The dollar is not the end but the means to the end.

A VERSE FOR TODAY

Today is the time for laughter,
Tomorrow the time for tears,
Whatever may come hereafter,
Whatever of woe with years,
Today is the time to borrow
The best that the gods can give.
We can sorrow, if need be, tomorrow,
But today is the time to live.

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SELFISHNESS

A GREAT sigh of relief went up in the industrial world when the decision of the Commission was announced, and a more hopeful spirit prevails in every branch of industry. This is a tacit recognition that the prosperity of the entire country is hinged in an unmistakable manner upon the prosperity of our railroads.

Everywhere cheerfulness prevails and in many instances there has been a re-awakening in the hives of industry allied to railroad supplies which has created openings for some of their unemployed.

"But the greatest danger that is confronting railroad management today, and one which the public has little knowledge of as yet," says the Railway Age Gazette, "is in the fact that railway labor has been steadily increasing its demands since 1907 and shows no disposition to desist from doing so. Railway labor like other labor, should be paid reasonable wages, but it should not be allowed to secure unreasonable and wasteful conditions of employment or excessive wage. If every advance in rates is to be offset or more than offset by increases in the cost of labor, there will be no increase in railway net earnings.

"The future demands of railway labor should be scrutinized by the public in the most careful manner for upon the concessions made to labor will largely depend the most important future developments in the railway business."

According to the present reports, the Brotherhoods have announced a program of legislation to advocate in Congress and the State Legislatures, laws which will make more expensive the operation of our railroads without any consequent economic advantage accruing except to their organizations.

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In Missouri where the Full Crew Bill was defeated, further efforts are to be made to secure enactments of this law.

The Brotherhoods have been able to secure passage of full crew laws in a number of states on the basis that more men on a train were promoting a higher safety. And where these laws are in effect the chief methods by which the railroads have been able partially to offset the rising tendency of wages is by increasing the train load, and these economies are to be prohibited by law if the legislative program of the Brotherhoods is carried out.

The public is learning one salient fact of railroad economics and that it is *the public that pays the railroad's expenses,* and it should not be difficult to convince the people that hauling shorter trains will not help the railroads to give better service, reduce rates, or pay higher wages to their employes by increasing expenses. It will tend to increase rates.

A law to limit the length of trains has one additional advantage over the full crew law. Both mean employment of more men, but the latest plan to legislate men into jobs would make it necessary for them to work for their pay, and their pay can only come from an *increased taxation upon the people who are served by the railroads.*

You can never stand in with the boss by telling him of those who are laggards. He knows all about the loafers. The way to win favor is by setting the loafers a pace.—*Elbert Hubbard.*

Taxes

A FEW months ago a fight was waged in Congress to prevent the passage of an exorbitant appropriation for Rivers and Harbors, and through the efforts of Senator Theodore E. Burton of Ohio, $34,000,000 was deducted from the appropriations.

A decade ago one of our prominent statesmen called attention to the enormous waste of the national expense account, making the statement that $300,000,000 a year could be saved by the use of business methods.

Ex-President Taft, in an address before the Lawyers' Club in New York, recently described his own attempts to get economy in government expenditures. "Under our system," said Mr. Taft, "we spend billions and have no books to show how it is spent."

The revenues of the United States government for 1913 were $2,049,813,602. This was 52.3 per cent more than those for 1903. The expenses were $1,997,872,649, compared with $1,256,872,109 in 1903.

For the 48 state governments, the total receipts for 1913 were $526,646,835, and expenses were $506,847,940.

On the basis of 90,000,000 population in 1913, every man, woman and child paid $28.55 towards the expenses of our state and national governments, and $4.53 additional for expenses of municipal government. This was an increase of $1.47 for every man, woman and child over 1912; the per capita wealth of the country was $35.03, an increase of 55c per capita. In other words, the increases in the per capita wealth in 1913 were completely consumed and an additional tax of 92c per capita was levied on

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the people to defray the expenses of their government.

Notwithstanding these facts Congress is making an effort to appropriate the $34,000,000 that was cut out of the Rivers and Harbors Bill at the last session.

The people under pressure of conditions have been forced to economize. If the government continues in its extravagant course, it will be the fault of the people, for they are the court of last resort still in this country. Every one of us pay these taxes. Unless we agree to the extravagance of the government, we owe a duty to ourselves and to our government to enter a protest through our Congressmen and check the wasteful extravagance which is eating up the natural growth of the wealth of this wonderful country. If we sit idly by and make no protest against these extravagances, we have no right to complain of the high cost of living.

The time to save your money is when you have it, not after it is spent.

To repeat an unkind truth is just as bad as to invent a lie.—*Elbert Hubbard.*

Newspapers

TWENTY-FIVE years ago the newspapers of the country were a power for development and progression. This was due to the forceful editorials of such men as Greeley and Dana. That school, however, is extinct.

Today we have, with one or two exceptions, no editorial policies worthy of the name or which can be considered by the people as formulative.

Criticism is every where heard as to the one-sidedness of the newspapers, and their lack of sense of responsibility to the people as a whole. The newspapers of today can not be compared with those of the past. Comparison is unfair, for the people demand all the news of all the world all the time, and with editions every few hours, the hurry and bustle of a newspaper office precludes consistent thinking and necessarily, constructive editorials.

The editorial policies shaping public opinion have left the hands of the newspapers and have been vested in the editorial columns of weekly and monthly periodicals. The influence that they wield is far more constructive than is generally recognized.

A generation ago it was rare that there was a periodical in a home. Today the reverse is true. These periodical editorials are slowly but surely shaping themselves into a constructive policy for the development of our American institutions.

There is one phase of the journalism of today which is to be regretted, which if continued in will result in their elimination; that is the tendency of the newspapers to sensationalism. Critics are needed, but a critic should be one who gives time and thought to the subject criticized as well as to every angle which the project surrounds. With the rush, bustle and grind of a daily newspaper, intelligent criticism is an impossibility and the people are chafing under the tactics and

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policies of newspapers which are criticising just for the sake of fault finding. Criticism, to be healthy, must be constructive. It is not sufficient to criticise from an iconoclastic standpoint. Criticism should be impartial, and the criticism of the mistakes of one class of our citizens should be exploited equally with the mistakes of every other class. Thus only can peace prevail. The policy of criticizing men of affairs and business simply because it is popular with the masses never can be conducive of a healthy nationalism.

Real values are the results of effort.

The Highest Cost of Living

THE High Cost of Living has been discussed from every angle, and the blame for the increase has been vicariously saddled upon one and all of the various parts of our organic system. But is there such a thing as the high cost of living? That is a question which has never been discussed.

Have not these discussions arisen from the lack of understanding on the part of the people as to what constitutes the cost of living? What difference does it make how much of the medium of exchange (dollars) it takes for a commodity when the medium of exchange is but the yardstick by which we measure the results of our efforts?

The laborer twenty years ago received a dollar a day, lived and raised his family with as much relative comfort as does the laborer of today at $2.00. The mechanic, the farmer, and all down the line, by comparison, have received a greater share of the medium of exchange than those of the last generation, and it is unquestionably a fact that he is living in more comfort.

If a farmer bought a wagon in 1880 for $90 when corn was 30c a bushel, and pays $125, for the same wagon today, with corn at 70c a bushel, is the wagon as expensive today as it was in 1880? If a house rents today for $15 a month, which in 1880 rented for $8, is the rent higher when we consider the earning capacity of the tenant?

The thought I would like to bring out is that when the balance is struck, with the exception of the fact that we have greater conveniences and more luxuries today than in 1880, the cost of living in proportion to the earning capacity of the masses of the people, is, if anything, lower today than then.

Those of us whose experience in life covers the span of thirty years, know that the standard of living has advanced and from the yardstick measurement, the cost of living has advanced in proportion. We also know that the earning capacity of the people as a whole has advanced more in proportion than the advanced cost of living of which there is so much complaint.

THE MEDIATOR, in opening up this discussion, is anxious to bring out the best thought on this subject, and with that end in view, will welcome criticism and comment for and against the idea, to wit: that the cost of living in 1914 was not as high as in 1884 when measured up through the standard earnings of those dates.

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Parcel Post

IF all the federal departments, none come so close to the people as the post office. It renders a great service every day and promises greater efficiency in the future.

The popularity of the parcel post system is deservedly great. It is a great achievement that an experimental system should so soon be carrying 800,000,000 parcels. The rural delivery and collection service is revolutionizing the country life. All these facts are cordially admitted, and the department is entitled to great credit.

The argument of the Post Master General that the post office is profitable and that therefore federal telephone and telegraph would be more profitable is open to serious debate. The post office revenue for 1913 shows an excess of $4,376,463, an increase in business of 16.7% over 1912.

The increase in revenue is specifically due to the increase in the parcel post, which the government as yet has made no adequate appropriation to cover. Consequently no fair estimate of the parcel post can be had; the Post Master General recognizes this delinquency and recommends payment to the railroads for the service rendered, but insists upon his ideas instead of those of the joint committee which is considering the matter.

As against this 16.7% in two years business, the pay for the service to the railways was enlarged but 2.5%. With quadrennial weighings, roads whose mail tonnage was weighed in 1912 must wait until 1916 to receive added revenue for this fast mounting tonnage.

From December 18th to 24th, inclusive, Pennsylvania Railroad handled approximately 3,500,000 parcel post packages at Broad Street station, Philadelphia, and 5,500,000 at Pennsylvania Station, New York. The Christmas rush at both cities was more than 50% heavier than a year ago. There was no delay as more than the required number of mail cars were constantly kept in use. The railroad receives no additional payment from the government for the extra facilities furnished. —*Boston News Bureau.*

Actions alone count.

Railway Regulation

THE famous decision of the I. C. C. has been rendered and has passed into history. To some it has been a relief and others a disappointment. Editorial comments in the various trade journals and newspapers clearly demonstrate that the problem of railway regulation is more of a problem today, after the decision of the I. C. C., than ever before.

There are bills before Congress looking towards relief by enlarging the commission, but thinkers everywhere are agreed that the present method is cumbersome, inadequate and should go.

The I. C. C., in its report to Congress, shows that they had a special informal docket of 7600 cases in less than a year, and on the formal

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docket 1081. There is a special docket regarding railway refunds, a fourth docket and most important of all, investigation and suspension docket. Then there are the hearings and investigations which the Commission must undertake of its own motion.

The significance of the Commission's report is that notwithstanding the multifarious duties now evolving on the Commission, it is endeavoring to secure unlimited power beyond the original intention.

It is coming to be perceived that the regulation of rates is regulation of price, something which has eluded the accomplishment of lawgivers in all times.

It is dawning upon the country that there has been a little too much regulation as well as too little, and that some ideals may be too costly for realization.

The present condition of the railways must be charged to the commission since they have a great deal more law than they began by asking for, and have never given the country the least intimation that if they had their way, conditions like the present would result.

The Commission is so thoroughly in control that responsibility is shifted from the railways to the commissions, and this occurring at a time when their promises of good things to come, are at a discount. In its own words, the "reform in the express companies is almost complete." In the language of the Commission, these conditions have been remedied and "are generally satisfactory to the patrons of the express companies."

The patrons are satisfied and the express companies are in worse condition than the railroads. Only one-tenth their operating income is left to them. Several leading companies have operated at a loss, and are worse off than if they had not worked.

If the Commission is working but for the patrons of the express companies it is hard to perceive what more the commission could do for them. Apparently the Commission has no fear that their methods are approaching any where near a similar outcome in broader fields.

Our government's attitude has been purely domestic and woefully erratic. We need sound, constructive, protective legislation in place of the spasmodic, unreasoned, destructive legislation which has too long hampered our industrial growth and put the cost of living upon an uneconomical and wasteful basis. The expansion of our trade calls for a national policy toward big business and it involves the building up of business, and a policy of letting business grow without unreasonable and persistent hectoring.

A person's stature does not necessarily denote his greatness.

French Government Roads Have Deficit

ADVOCATES of government ownership of railroads will do well to study the returns made by the two French railroads controlled by that country. Figures for the fiscal year 1913, just issued, show that the total receipts of the government roads were $65,500,000, with operating expenses of $55,800,000, leaving $9,700,000 as net earnings.

However, the fixed charges of the roads amounted to $26,000,000,

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and the French government had to advance $16,000,000 out of the public treasury to make up the deficit.

This discrepancy in figures is not due to lower rates, as the government railroads in France enjoy higher rates than the privately owned transportation companies. Passenger fares, representing direct charge on the public, were somewhat lower. Freight rates on the government roads were 1.60 cents per ton mile on one road and 1.62 cents on the other, compared with a general average of 1.31 cents on the private roads.

During the same year the average freight rate received by railroads of the United States was .73 cents a mile, a little less than half of that received by the government and private carriers of France. The 1913 operating ratio of the French government roads was 85 per cent. This same ratio in the United States seldom goes above 75 per cent on the big railroads.—*Cleveland Leader.*

The Forum

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

Editor THE MEDIATOR, Cleveland, O.

Dear Sir:—I have read with interest your government ownership articles, also your very able editorials and your further consideration of government ownership. I believe the views expounded by you in these several articles are eminently sound and will be fraught with good results in the minds of the rank and file of railroad men as well as others who read them.

I have had occasion recently to review the railroad situation and unless there is an amelioration of the harsh conditions which now beset the railroads, I see nothing left for them but government ownership. If the public expects to get a reasonable service from the railroads, or requires a higher standard to meet the exigencies of business, it must understand that a compensation must be forthcoming to the carriers to enable them to pay their bills. Under the conditions now governing, the bills for the service rendered cannot be paid by the private owners and if the reasonable service to the public is to be continued, I can conceive of no ownership except that of the government, that can pay the bills. While I have no doubt that the private owners of the railroads today would be very glad to sell out to the government, still I think that government ownership would carry with it all the ills portrayed by you and would be a menace to our institutions, and Heaven knows how our country would end up.

I think the case mentioned by you, of the Western French Railway, running through the very fertile country of Normandy, with the important shipping port of Havre, and the line between that point and Paris, shows how the service and expense of operation would be affected by government ownership. That road was taken over by the government in 1908, when it was paying dividends to its owners. Three years after,

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under government ownership, the earnings increased three millions of dollars, yet the net was only 41% of what it was in 1908 under private ownership, the consequence being there was a deficit of over nine millions of dollars that had to be made up by taxation. The number of employes in the meantime had been increased over five thousand. The noted French economist, Mr. Leroy-Beaulieu, from whom you quoted, has stated that the conditions under government operation were intolerable; that detentions to traffic were very great; that passenger trains were rarely on time and that the six greatest accidents involving the greatest loss of life happened on this state railway.

Considering the independence, aggressiveness and temperamental conditions of our railway employes and the indifference to a loyal sense of duty that might be imparted to them through political considerations in the event of government ownership, I do not see that we could expect even as good results from the operation of our railways by the state as is shown by this French railroad.

Minister of Public Works Guyout summed up the case when he said that the railway employes were considered by the government as voters and could not be controlled in their duties.

While the year 1913 was a fairly prosperous one for the general business people, it was very disappointing to railroads. The railroad earnings increased for the ten months January to October some $132,000,000, but this was exceeded more than $21,000,000 in the operation expenses and taxes. The taxes, as stated by you, are a very important source of revenue to the various states. They have enormously increased of late years. They are four times what they were in 1900. I suppose the railroads paid these taxes to get protection from the state, but in the stringent regulatory action exercised against them, they got persecution rather than protection.

Railroads are not suffering for lack of business so much as from unremunerative rates and unless there is a change for the better in the latter very soon, they will be in a bad plight.

With kindest regards and wishing you the best of success in your very laudable work, I remain,

Yours very truly,

J. B. STEWART.

Life is one continuous round of pleasure to him who has found his work.

What Shall We do with Our Children

The farmer is getting alarmed at the tendency of his children to leave the farm. He looks around to find a philosopher who can tell him what to do.

There are many things to be done, and he must do them, if he would keep his children on the farm.

He must start at once and become a better man and a better farmer, improve the home and its surroundings, take a good farm paper and magazines, raise better crops and stock, make farming pay, keep an itemized account of everything, have the boys or girls keep the books if they are old enough, give them a good education, and if possible have

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a good piano, teach the children to play and sing, and let the father and mother be companions for their children instead of masters.

There are many things that can be done. If the farmer will say, "Come boys, let us go and dig a hole by the side of that boulder and bury it," they will be interested in it, and will see the improvement their efforts have made. All have not a boulder to bury, but all have something that can be done. He must go ahead, and say, come boys. Begin early and get the boy interested financially. Help him to own some stock, give him a few acres of land, if possible, to cultivate entirely for his own profit. Do not use the boy's money, but teach him the value of it, and how best to use it. Of course, some will go, but the more would stay if parents only make home what it should be and teach them how to do their share in the making of it. The mother should teach the girls to cook and to make their clothes and keep them in order, can fruits, and to do all of the things necessary to the making and keeping of a house and home, and to be prepared when one of those young men, who has a manly character and has learned to be a good farmer and home builder, ask her to come and fill his home with loving kindness and good victuals (for that is one of the essential things to make a good husband, feed him well) will not have to say, "Wait until I take a two years' course in domestic science," and if he waited for her she would be a widow in two years more for he would die of dyspepsia. A good farmer must be the best worker and the best qualified man in the country, a good bookkeeper, mechanic, chemist, and botanist, a financier, a philosopher, an architect, and a veterinary surgeon, and often it becomes necessary for him to be an orator. His wife must be more than that, for in addition to that, she must be an entertainer and a diplomat.

O. F. ALLEN.

Niagara Falls, N. Y.

At the beginning of 1914, the out-of-work condition in Germany increased to over a million.

The cost of foodstuffs soaring; meat, butter and eggs are practically eliminated from the workman's bill of fare.

An economic writer on conditions there states a pound of butter takes half a day's wages, and eggs are beginning to sell by the piece.

Organizations of labor in Germany are confined to the workers in trades and industries. The agricultural and forest workers have never had and have not now the rights of organization.

A union workman is reported to have said recently, "Let the business agents graft so long as they graft on the employers and not on us." But the two kinds of graft go hand in hand. The agent who will graft on the employer will graft on the workman. Even where the employer hands over the money the workman helps pay the bill. When a strike is called to enforce the collection of graft, he and his family are the ones who suffer.—*Chicago Press.*

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The Mediator

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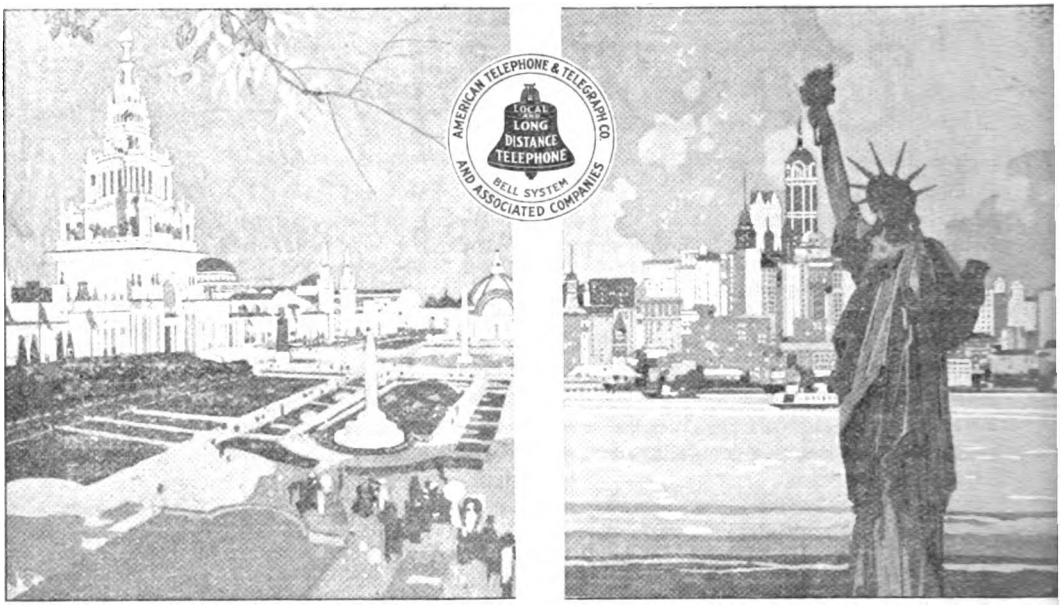

Creating a New Art

At the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, the exhibit of the Bell System consisted of two telephones capable of talking from one part of the room to another.

Faint as the transmission of speech then was, it became at once the marvel of all the world, causing scientists, as well as laymen, to exclaim with wonder.

Starting with only these feeble instruments, the Bell Company, by persistent study, incessant experimentation and the expenditure of immense sums of money, has created a new art, inventing, developing and perfecting; making improvements great and small in telephones, transmitter, lines, cables, switchboards and every other piece of apparatus and plant required for the transmission of speech.

As the culmination of all this, the Bell exhibit at the Panama-Pacific Exposition marks the completion of a Trans-continental Telephone line three thousand four hundred miles long, joining the Atlantic and the Pacific and carrying the human voice instantly and distinctly between New York and San Francisco.

This telephone line is part of the Bell System of twenty-one million miles of wire connecting nine million telephone stations located everywhere throughout the United States.

Composing this System, are the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and Associated Companies and connecting companies, giving to one hundred million people Universal Service unparalleled among the nations of the earth.

AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY

AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES

One Policy ***One System*** ***Universal Service***

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THE MEDIATOR

VOLUME 7 CLEVELAND, OHIO, MARCH, 1915 NUMBER 3

OUR GERMAN BROTHER

By J. K. Turner

PUBLIC opinion crystallizes and shapes itself ultimately into concrete actions. This is equally true of the forces constructive, as well as destructive. The patient understanding of the interdependence of man upon man was never more exemplified than has been done in the past eighteen months in the depression which has spread over the land touching every corner and affecting every man in proportion to his circumstances.

Every one has had to economize, and economy is the watchword of the hour. Declining earnings mean declining expenditures, and the savings of our thrifty ones are more far-reaching in their benefits than was the deprivation which was the basis of the saving.

The period of prosperity which preceded our present era and condition found us all in the high tide of enthusiastic optimism, many of us failed to realize that the conditions which were so satisfactory could change. Those are the ones who are feeling the present conditions the keenest.

The American people as a whole are an intelligent people. They think more constructively than destructively, and they fit themselves to conditions more readily than their brothers in other climes because of the fact that they are pioneers in immigration, or the children of pioneers, and in either event, they are accustomed to changes which to the average man are revolutionary.

Each spark of optimism fanned into confidence relieves the pressure of the depression. Hence we find regardless of conditions a spirit of optimism prevailing to a greater extent six months ago than today because we had faith in each other, and it is safe to assume that this neighborly faith has been augmented by our troubles rather than disrupted.

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But recently there has been discovered a fly in the ointment.

The people's medium of information is the daily press and it is remarkable the partisanship that has developed among the different people in different localities regarding their favorite publication, and they see conditions and the causes for conditions through the eyes of the editorials of their favorite journals. This is what makes it imperative on the part of the publicist that he should be impartial and just in dealing with all questions which in any way affect the stability of our relationship, man to man.

At the opening of the European war, the leading journalists of the country were absolutely impartial, and they depended upon their former tried channels of information for news of interest to their various constituents, but they soon found that the avenues of publicity became clogged through censorship and the insistent demand on the part of the people for information and news as to what was going on in the older countries of the world made them eager and anxious to supply it. Today it is more generally accepted as true that the avenues of information regarding the politics of the present war are inaccessible.

Every newspaper numbers among its constituents natives or native sons of the belligerents, and in proportion to the predominating numbers of the different nationalities supplied has there been a gradual change in the tenor of the editorials and the news which is furnished in hopes of satisfying this insistent demand for news that will please.

First came the claim from one side that the other was suppressing or falsifying the facts and so acute had this idea become that it was deemed essential to publish special periodicals to set forth Germany's attitude and Germany's view and the real truth about operations.

This was meritorious for in this country we have 25,000,000 of Germany's native sons and daughters, who notwithstanding the fact that they had separated themselves forever from their native country, still had friends, relatives,

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and acquaintances there whom they were anxious about. They naturally believed the publications which consciously or unconsciously leaned to their interests in the situation.

A desire to still further augment this feeling caused still further separation of the press of the country into partisanship until today we find the editorials of our leading American journals bitterly censuring the German propaganda, and on the other hand we find the pro-German newspapers equally as bitter in censuring the Allies. All of which is a natural outcome of a situation beyond the control of either American or German American editors or newspapers.

It is due unquestionably to the rigid censorship of the news and the desire of both sides of the controversy abroad to present only news favorable to their campaigns. This is natural and would naturally be understood by the intelligent American people who predominate in this country. But recently there has developed a still stronger attitude which is openly charging American German citizens with acts which are entirely foreign to the German character as understood and analyzed by the history of the German people since their settlement on these shores early in the 17th century.

Criticism on the part of certain pro-English press to the spirit of the Fatherland and its emphasis by the German and German-Americans, is unjust, unwarranted, and uncalled for, as is equally the same criticism on the part of the pro-German press in the development or attempted development of a spirit of the Mother Country on the other hand.

If it is justifiable to defend the Mother Country by one class of citizens, it is equally as justifiable to defend the Fatherland by the other class of people. But the charge, by indirection, that sons and daughters of the Germans who settled in this country are conspiring to aid their Fatherland by overt acts committed in a neutral country is unfair, unjust, and without sound basis.

During our Civil War, history shows us that among

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the foremost citizens who stood up for the perpetuation of the Union and laid down their lives and sacrificed their all in the cause of their adopted country, were the Germans; and to German ability, intelligence, and persistency is due the successful termination of that war more than to any other of our adopted citizens.

Shall we forget this in the heat of our momentary terror due to the spirit of disorganization of the world's business because of the war? Friendship is not bred of suspicion and often suspicion has no existence except in the breast of the one who suspects. If you nurse a fear, that fear grows constantly. Fear destroys. Friendship creates.

Go to your sound, healthy communities in any portion of this continent whether on our soil or that of Canada or Mexico, and ask who are the best citizens, and the answer is always "The Germans." The Germans are constructive. The Germans develop. The German grows two blades of grass where but one thrived before. The German stands for law and liberty, for the German realizes there can be no liberty without law, and if the editors of our influential press will stop to reason and consider that it is as unfair to attach the blame of the actions of a few fanatics to the entire 25,000,000 of our German citizens, as it is to judge the utility of our press with the scurrilous and distasteful methods of our yellow journalism, they will obtain a great light and will fulfill the mission toward which their best efforts are now being misapplied.

Furthermore THE MEDIATOR desires to emphasize the fact that there is danger not to the Germans or the Allies but to the American nation as a nation in the history of misrepresentation or presentation of editorials, news, and opinions which if continued in may be more disastrous to the perpetuity of our free American institutions than the whole war of Europe and its devastating results.

The people, particularly the German-Americans and their children, are long suffering and patient. They proved this in the sacrifices that they made to tear up root, stalk,

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and barrel, severing all ties of the past, and emigrating to a foreign land in the hopes of the future, not only to themselves but to the unborn generations of whom they are the progenitors.

In the early history of our country in the troublous times of Valley Forge, one of our statesmen arose before the Continental Congress and stated: "These are the times that try men's souls." These words have lived in history, but never before in the history of the American people have these words been fraught with deeper meaning than at the present moment. What with the disrupted conditions due to many causes aside from the war, the people's nerves are on the outside of their coat sleeves today, and in that lies the danger of misrepresentation or dark subtle hints or suspicion.

Every man who surrendered his allegiance to any other nation either through direct action or through action of his forefathers is an American citizen. The hyphen has no place in America's literature. Here we are one country, one people, under one flag. Here we stand for liberty in the highest sense of its acceptance in the history of the world. Shall the liberty of the press, speech, and action be used or abused? Shall we use the power that our forefathers died to give us to separate Americans into classes? This is what the pro-German press is attempting. This is what the pro-English press is attempting, and in this great country of ours, THE MEDIATOR can see but American ideas and ideals. We may sympathize, we may help for that is the mission of a free people, to help the enslaved.

You cannot have fraternity by separating people who are different through accident of birth. The American people have one duty and one duty only in this crisis, that duty is to show the world at large that as a result of 139 years of political freedom, we are a self-controlled nation. For without self-control with the continued policies of the pro-this and pro-that propaganda, the straw which breaks the camel's back may fall and become the instrument of destruction which will disrupt the nation.

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The press of the country has a grave responsibility at this crisis. Let them cease their partisanship. The president of the United States has asked for neutrality, yet the press of the country continues to talk of baby killers, bridge wreckers, attackers of hospital ships, pirates and outlaws. This does not breathe the spirit of America or neutrality. This country has a great mission in this crisis. Its mission is to stand ready at the eleventh hour to heal the differences which separate the civilized nations of the world, and this cannot be done by fostering class hatred among our citizens through a misrepresentation of facts or a deduction and insistence that the acts of a fanatic bind his entire class.

THE MEDIATOR realizes that the German who is an American first, last, and always, is not receiving a square deal from the press of the country. Nor is he represented by the so-called German press. For any extreme is wrong. Extremes mean the end. Some where there is a middle of the road through which all men may meet on a common plane, and when men meet face to face, enmity is an impossibility.

THE MEDIATOR opens up its columns to the pro-Germans as well as the pro-Allies, or any other nationality which may have a message of hope, of peace, of harmony, and of brotherhood.

The civilized world is gazing through time and space toward this country as the only logical mediator to bring about a satisfactory and permanent end to the terrific war which is devastating and demoralizing humanity.

Our administration at Washington has never faced a more complicated situation in its history. They are pitted against the ablest diplomats of the world. If they are to conduct the ship of state through the dangerous channels and pitfalls on every side, they must needs have the co-operation, sane advice, and calm consideration of every thinking unit of our nation.

If we present to Europe, when the crucial moment arrives, a divided people, a people who are not at peace with themselves, how can we expect them to respect our ability

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to lay the foundation for a world-peace which will have a basis of solidarity with public opinion of all kinds with but one end in view, the recognition of the truth that the "injury of one is the concern of all."

The press of the United States, regardless of the language in which their thoughts are expressed, have a grave responsibility and THE MEDIATOR'S faith in the judgment of the able minds who guide our editorial pens, is all-abiding. We believe that all that is essential to bring about the correction of the mistaken policies of suspicion which are filling the columns of the daily press, is to but call their attention to its unfairness and the absolute necessity of all citizens, native or adopted, standing shoulder to shoulder in this hour of peril, so that we can exhibit such self-control, patience, and tolerance and understanding as to command the respect of the civilized world.

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Social Tendencies

By W. J. BETHUNE

Part II

Growth of Monopoly

THE most significant evidence of the coming of a new social order is the growing tendency of the many independent monopoly interests to combine, to form trusts for mutual benefit. They were in the past, and to a large extent are today, like a band of hunters all working harmoniously in corralling a bunch of deer, then fighting each other for possession of the prey. All the holders of special privileges work together in controlling the policy of government so as to initiate and enforce legislation granting and maintaining privileges for their benefit as a whole; but they still fight amongst themselves as to the division of the spoils. For instance, a few years ago the many independent concerns making steel rails worked as a unit in maintaining the tariff giving them a monopoly of the home market; yet for lack of agreement as to the division of the spoil, much of the possible fruits of the monopoly was lost through competition. Then combinations to restrict competition began to develop.

Then, again: While the holders of all industrial locations combine and work together to initiate legislation maintaining the location monopoly that enables them to exploit society's co-operative workers, they still fight amongst themselves for possession of these locations. Note the fierce struggle of a few years ago between rival steel companies for possession of the great iron and coal deposits and desirable mill locations. Also witness the gradual consolidation or absorption of the rival companies into a steel trust that is now developing. And what is true of the steel business is true in a greater or less degree of every other business. The transportation, manufacturing, trading, banking and even farming industry all show the same general tendency to eliminate competition by bringing the whole business under one management.

THERE are two distinct forces at work developing these combines. First, the natural desire of co-operative workers to produce wealth with the least possible expenditure of human effort. And second, the desire of separate groups of the privileged governing class to appropriate a greater share of the total amount of wealth which monopolists as a whole take from the co-operating producers.

As a matter of economy in production it is perfectly legitimate that, with the greater demands that come with increasing population, the crude and laborious methods of the pioneer should give place to the highly specialized labor saving methods of our present more compact society. That the hand loom in every house, driven by human muscle, should give place to the few great factories where the forces of nature are harnessed to drive the looms. That the many small grist mills, local coal mines, oxcarts and stage coaches, supplying the wants of small communities, should give place to the few great flouring mills, mining concerns, steam railways and electric cars, adapted to supply more economically the wants of large communities.

These changes in industrial methods *of themselves* can harm no one.

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On the contrary, by greatly increasing the productive power of labor, their natural tendency must be to make it easier to gratify human desires.

Nor does the growing tendency of competitors to combine in order to eliminate the waste of effort incidental to independent operation *of itself* inflict hardship on any one.

For instance, here are two railroads competing with each other for the patronage of a given territory. They are part of the co-operative industrial community. Their transportation of freight and passengers is one of the steps towards producing the finished wealth and services, which are the ultimate objects of the co-operative labor of themselves, and of the workers whose freight they handle, and of the passengers they carry.

Evidently, then, the labor needed to keep up the road-beds, rolling stock, terminals, etc., and to operate the two systems, is part of the total labor expended to produce the needed services and finished wealth for the co-operating community. If by consolidation the operators are able to give as good service with less road-bed, fewer cars, or a smaller operating force, the sum total of co-operative effort necessary to produce finished products has been reduced. And the same is true of every other class of producers. The bringing together under one management of competing producers in the same industry, insofar as it reduces the labor necessary to perform certain co-operative functions, is a labor saving improvement and *of itself* instead of working harm to society is a distinct benefit.

LET us now consider the second force that makes for a close combination of business interests.

The combining into a trust of the individual monopoly holding operators in any one business, is to enable them, by working as a unit, to get a greater share of the sum total of monopoly benefits. The trust is built up by the monopolists in one industry to enable them to rob their fellow monopolists in other industries.

Working independently the different monopoly holding operators in each industry compete with each other in the market. There is no competition between them for labor. The competition between the workers for jobs gives every operator labor on substantially the same terms. But the desire of each operator to get as large a revenue as possible from his individual monopoly tends to make him operate at full capacity: and as the price and exchange value of any product depends upon the demand for it and its supply, as compared with the demand for and supply of other things, a greater increased production and keener selling competition in one industry than in others, instead of increasing, would tend to decrease the percentage of monopoly profits going to that industry.

Everything else being equal the largest share of monopoly profits goes to that industry where the monopoly holding operators have the greatest control over production and over competition in selling. Hence the trust to restrict production, which makes society poorer in order that a small group of monopolists may become richer.

Think of the power to appropriate monopoly profits a steel trust would have that under one management absolutely controlled the production and marketing of steel in this country. Think of the monopoly

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profits of the members of such a trust as compared with the profits of the competing monopoly holding operators in any other business.

Having through legal privilege got a close monopoly of all the mills and coal and iron deposits without which steel cannot be produced directly, and legislation prohibiting the operators in other industries from producing steel indirectly (as our farmers do today by trading farm products for steel from foreign countries), the power of such a trust to absorb monopoly profits would be limited only by the danger of driving steel out of use.

WHILE a trust that controlled production in any special industry would enrich the monopolists in that business at the expense of unorganized monopolists in other branches of industry, it would also inflict great hardship and suffering upon labor and more especially upon the employes of the trust.

Having an absolute monopoly of the only available locations where it is possible to produce a certain kind of unfinished wealth needed by co-operating workers in order to produce finished wealth, if a steel trust for instance,—having a close monopoly of the coal and iron lands and other locations needed in the steel business,—should decide to reduce production and to discharge a large number of employes, the discharged miners, mill men, etc.—who by reason of the monopoly of industrial locations have been forced to work for wages representing as small a share of finished wealth as they will consent to live upon—will find themselves in the position of surplus slaves, who must find a master in order to exist. They have the power to labor, the desire to work co-operatively and the intelligence to produce the needed tools; but they are helpless for lack of the raw material of nature on which to impress their labor. They are shut off from nature's bounties by legal privilege; labor is degraded to the level of a commodity in the market and men are forced to beg for leave to toil.

Stern necessity will make them learn to live more frugally. Hunger will force them to offer to work for lower wages. They will make keener competition for jobs in every industry, and the result will be a lower standard of living for all workers.

Nor is it necessary to reduce money wages in order to force workers to accept a poorer living. The higher prices that result from restricted production make it necessary for the workers to give up more of their wages for the finished wealth they consume and bring down the standard of living as effectively as a cut in money wages.

In our monopoly trust forming times the condition of the wage slave is in some respects even worse than that of the negro chattel slave of fifty years ago.

When population was sparse and free land abundant chattel slavery was the system best adapted to the exploitation of labor. The slaves must be held in personal bondage to keep them from escaping to free land and employing themselves. Also in that cruder state of society industry was chiefly agricultural and carried on by smaller operators than with us. The master was more in touch with the workers, and where he did not superintend the work in person he hired free men as overseers. These free men could at any time leave their jobs and go to work on free land employing themselves and usually were able to secure a few slaves to exploit for their own benefit.

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Then again, the chattel slave had an exchange value,—the capitalized value of the products of his labor in the future, over and above what would be expended for food, clothing and shelter to keep him in good working order. And the slave owner would find it to his financial interest to look after the material welfare of his property. The chattel slave worth one thousand dollars would certainly not be embarrassed for lack of a master, or by being out of a job.

The wage slave has none of these ameliorating influences. From the unskilled laboring class up to the class of general managers, there is the same competition for jobs between men who are shut out by legal privilege from employing themselves. They are all subject to the fierce pressure of the jobless men.

The stock holders who are the monopoly owners of our great industrial corporations, are not in touch with the workers. The policy of the corporations is controlled by boards of directors elected by and responsible to the stock holders. The only interest the stock holders have in the corporation is in receiving dividends. The only interest the directors take in the workers is to see that the different department superintendents produce results that insure good dividends. Every department head from the general manager down to the boss of a laboring gang knows his job depends on getting results.

(To Be Continued)

Don't tell me who you are, but what you have done.—*Cy.*

Railroads, Government Ownership and the Unemployed

By F. B. YOAKUM

I WANT to impress upon you the close relationship between government ownership, railroads and the unemployed, and I will try to state this as concisely as I can.

There is enough land in this country to furnish every family with 100 acres out of the approximately two billion acres that constitute our land domain.

Government statistics show that in the west and southwest there is less than 12½ per cent of the available land under cultivation.

These are interesting statistics, and are of vital importance to the unemployed, which matter I shall refer to later.

It does not much matter who owns the railroads because the government will exercise the same regulative control over them as if it really owned them. If the showdown should come, I predict that those who own the railroads will be more willing to sell them at a fair valuation, than those representing the government will be to buy.

I suggest a few reasons why the government will not buy the railroads:

The people will be slow to add 1,700,000 railroad employes, whose aggregate compensation is now twice as much as the total income of the government, exclusive of postal receipts.

There would be a storm of opposition on the part of the people

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who have fixed and old-fashioned notions about a large public debt.

Railroads now pay $143,000,000 taxes annually. The government is not taxed on its property. In my opinion, the states and municipalities would not stand for being deprived of this income.

If the government owned the railroads it would become the purchaser under normal conditions, of one-third of all the steel and iron products of the country; one-quarter of the timber products of the country, and would become one of the largest purchasers of coal and oil. Then the government would commence to fix prices for its own use, and it would automatically mean fixing the prices of the same products sold to the public.

It is conceded that one of the great evils that may result from government ownership will be the destruction of individual initiative and individual force that has characterized the success of the American people since the foundation of this country.

It is true the government is preparing to construct and own the Alaskan railways. This, no doubt, is a wise conclusion. That country should be developed, and the government has adopted the best way of doing it.

The government also owns and operates the Panama Canal. The canal is a great thing for the Americas. But even the powerful government could not have engaged in these vast enterprises without cheap money. If they had to pay for the money the same price as private corporations, neither the Panama Canal nor the Alaskan railways would have been undertaken.

Let us consider for a moment the present threatened food famine, which is so closely related to the cessation of railroad construction and unemployment.

This is the first time in our history when we are commencing to face a food scarcity. This is the first time that petitions have gone to Washington asking that the exportation of food stuff be discontinued. The countries at war are buying our provisions at an unprecedented rate, and it is plain that we are about to sell more than we have to spare.

We face this food emergency at a time when we are in an era of arrested development. In 1912 the last of the big railroad construction contracts were completed. Think of this, there has been no new railroad construction for two years, and the prospects are we will see another two years without any additional railroad building. This is the first period since the Civil War that not a single railroad construction contract is under way. We have had panics and hard times at intervals, but never for so long a stretch. Heretofore we have had railroad construction, expansion of the country's development, opening up of new territory along new railroads, furnishing labor with employment, to pull us through each time. The reverse is the case at present. There is no work of this kind under way.

For thirty years prior to 1912, our average railroad construction has been six thousand miles a year. Following the laying of the rails of these new railroads, many millions of acres of new land were made available and put under cultivation. In addition, thousands of industries for the manufacture of raw material, timber and other resources for the market, were built up, employing and paying good wages to large numbers of men.

The opening up of new territory cannot be remedied at once, and

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under existing food shortage, our first effort should be to encourage in every way possible sowing and planting. Every available acre should be under cultivation. Country bankers should support their farmer customers to the limit. So far as possible, the idle in the cities should be turned to farm work. I grant that this is not an easy matter, but the emergency is a serious one, and what in ordinary times would be considered impossible should now be made practical.

From the necessity of meeting the urgent needs of the present, it is only a step to anticipate the great demands on this country for the future to provide for the continuously increasing population each year. That is, since railroad building ceased two years ago, our population has increased to a point where we have three million more mouths to feed, without any additional products to feed them with. Millions of fertile but unused acres should be made available to colonists for the immediate future. We need the products of these idle lands badly. The only way they can be opened for settlement and cultivation is through railroads yet to be built. It is not possible in any other way.

Sixty per cent of this country in area lies west of the Mississippi River. To furnish it with railroad facilities equal to the east will require the construction of 180,000 miles of new railroads.

There are undeveloped sections as large as some of the eastern states, and as rich as the best soils of Europe, but 75 to 125 miles from a railroad, lying idle for lack of transportation. The present unemployed, and the future growing population should be permitted to utilize these rich fertile lands, which cannot be done without transportation facilities. This vast undeveloped domain would be attractive enough, if in any other section of the world, for nations to go to war over, and yet it is lying fallow at the doors of our large cities where there are millions of people hungry and without homes. This is conclusive that there is something economically wrong somewhere and must be remedied.

There are two factors necessary for our food supply, transportation and production. They are essential to each other. In all new countries the locomotive comes first, followed closely by the plow. Without the railroads and the markets, farming cannot be successfully undertaken. The products would decay in the fields. Railroads are essential.

Without reflection upon anyone or any policy, we should profit by the experiences we are now undergoing. We are up against an economic necessity, and all thinkers should turn their attention to its solution, rather than dodge or shift responsibility. The main thing to do is to find a way for the restoration of constructive work. With four or five million people in this country either starving or on half rations through lack of employment, something must be done to stop this growing distress.

Many of the unfortunate people who find themselves without work would seek homes in the country if there were cheap lands to be had. Cheap lands accessible to existing railroads are a thing of the past. It makes a vast difference to a man with small means whether he can buy a farm for $10.00 to $15.00 an acre, or whether he must pay $75.00 to $150.00 an acre. And yet there are enough high class idle agricultural lands in this country to meet the demands of the normal growth of the country for the next twenty years, if railroads are built through them so that the farmers attracted to these lands could market their crops.

To say that these people who are suffering in congested centers will

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not go into the rural districts if an opportunity is offered them is a mistake. You have all seen whenever the government opened up and offered new lands to the public, people from all parts of the United States, and from all classes, have camped on the lines of the public reservations for weeks in advance, and have almost rioted among themselves in their eagerness to catch the first signal from the government that the farm lands were open for settlement.

Most of the unemployed men and women in New York, Chicago and other big centers would be willing to do anything that would furnish homes for themselves, and an opportunity to educate their children.

Naturally under such conditions as now surround us, there is a lot of impractical theorizing, and at the same time many good, practical suggestions, but the kind of help proposed is necessarily of a temporary character. These unemployed people cannot continue to live and receive their sustenance, to say nothing of educating their children, through national, state or city aid. This big government must afford opportunities for these people to become producing and self-sustaining citizens. The farm is the only place to accomplish this until the growth of the rural districts catches up with the cities in equalizing production to consumption.

It is a mistake to regard these people as a class unable to make a living. Many of them are on the charity list for no other reason than lack of opportunity, and are willing and competent if a way is found to give them a chance. It is nothing short of a reflection on this country and its management when there is a superabundance of land awaiting cultivation for many times the several million people who are now unemployed, who should be so busy and prosperous that they and their families should never know there existed such a thing as a bread line or a free soup house. Our whole economic fabric is wrong when this salvation is neglected.

I want to emphasize the close connection between the piling up of hundreds of thousands of unemployed in cities and the subject of opening farm lands through new railroad construction.

As I have already stated there has been no new railroad construction for two years, whereas the average railroad building for the preceding thirty years was six thousand miles a year. Under normal conditions, there is an average of seven employes to the mile of operated railroad. Therefore the construction of six thousand miles of new railroads a year resulted in the employment of forty-two thousand additional men a year as these new railroads were put in operation. Using the government's estimate of four and a half people to the family, these employes would support and educate through their employment, 190 thousand additional people each year if normal conditions had continued.

If cessation of railroad construction continues through 1916, it will mean that in the four years' stoppage from 1912, we will be behind in building twenty-four thousand miles of road. This arrested development means that we have failed to invest, at $30,000 a mile for construction of these lines $720,000,000

It means that we have failed to make twenty-four thousand freight cars at a cost of 240,000,000

Locomotive shops have been deprived of the business of making five thousand additional locomotives at a cost of 80,000,000

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Steel car builders are minus the construction of four thousand passenger coaches at a cost of..... 48,000,000

To say nothing of the thousands of new homes, and the multitude of new industries that would have been built.

To build new railroads bankers must be able to sell the securities. It is difficult to find investors for new railroad securities under existing conditions, which, however, are happily on the mend. Railroad builders who are to extend the lines into sparsely and undeveloped countries cannot undertake the construction without adequate money. Therefore, before this all important work of new railroad building can be resumed, a method must be found by which the government, the bankers and the builders can co-operate.

With railroad construction stopped, contractors' outfits rusted or sold for junk, how can we expect to return to the highest standard of business and development, when the one instrument so essential to our growth has been abandoned, the effect of which reaches all business and labor problems? For we cannot stand still. We must either go forward or backward.

Analyzing these great economic questions, we find that this arrested development which began in 1912, includes the man who wields the axe to cut the forest trees, the miner with his tools in the ore beds, and through every process of the raw material to the finished product, 80 cents out of each dollar would go to labor and the products of labor.

If through the co-operation of the government a way can be found to restore railroad construction and the opening of new lands, with consequent farms, homes and factories, every other class of business will respond and flourish from the time such a fixed policy is assured.

Trifles make perfection, but perfection is no trifle. —***Michael Angelo.***

Confidence Will Help

By J. K. TURNER

"THERE is a new atmosphere, for the mists and miasmic airs of suspicion that have filled the business world have now been blown away. . . . You are not going to be penalized because you are big and strong," said the president in his speech in Washington on January 29th.

This statement, coming from the head of the nation, will do much to push away the dark clouds of depression which have over-shadowed the business world for the past year and have brought this nation's business to a point of stagnation.

The American people are a business people. Their national life is made up of the interchange of commodities with each other, and with foreign nations. Everywhere we find a paradox of conditions. Our financial centers tell us that money is so easy and accessible that it is remarkable that industry is so prostrated, and the people are wondering why the dollars are even more idle than men, particularly when there is such a surplus of both, each under the urgent and pressing necessity of earning a living.

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In commenting upon this fact, the New York *Times* says:

"For one reason, it may be because of a lack of psychological reserve in our politicians and in our government. There is no check on their follies or their innovations, their dispensing with all the lessons of experience, their reliance upon inspiration. The country has found them out through the failure of their fondest promises and dearest short cuts to prosperity. The country is discovering that it must rely upon itself to correct the government, rather than upon the government to act as an earthly providence. Government that is inefficient as a government, yet assumes to regulate what it cannot accomplish and to venture upon many difficult things before it has been faithful or successful in the few and simple things. The country has had its lesson.

"We are suffering from a plethora of regulatory laws and eternal investigation which has paralyzed the spirit of initiative of our business man and caused doubt to creep into business which to be successful must be built upon supreme confidence."

During the last four years the western railroads have been made subject to 3,459 orders and laws made by commissions, municipalities and state legislatures covering every subject from drinking cups to weeding the right-of-way, all of which operates to increase the expense of doing business without any increase in efficiency or benefit to the business world.

"Trade commissions, labor commissions, factory commissions and investigations, commissions of every subject in the business directory, have chilled capital, and when capital goes cold, labor freezes to death," said the state superintendent of banks of New York in an address before the State Bankers' Association.

Taking into consideration the foregoing statements from three different angles of thought, bringing them to a central point of observation, it is self-evident that we cannot expect our psychological prosperity to transform itself into a practical prosperity when these conditions prevail.

Washington is responsible. And as Washington is responsible for this condition, we must look to Washington to remedy these defects. Creating political offices to make more jobs for their constituency may be good politics, but it is bad business. The government is supported by the people and the people should not be supported by the government, for as long as the people maintain control of their government they must control the policies of the government. Experiments are necessary for advancement, but when experiments are more costly than results justify, it is time to cease experimenting and get back to a more staple form of government. We are a business nation, our people obtain their livelihood through their business and their business associates, naturally our business is to see to it that our government which is in business psychologically, at once retires from business and its policy of business interference, dismiss its various commissions, which investigate eternally without any beneficent results at enormous expense to the taxpayer and go back to the simon-pure democracy of Jefferson and Lincoln, whose policy is illustrated in the words that "That government which governs least is most efficient."

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Live and Let Live

By CHAS. J. ROSEN

THE Twentieth Century conception of the old adage, "live and let live," is far different from its original intent in the hearts of many.

Self-interest or selfishness has dethroned man from the pinnacle of *success,* and placed him on the bottom rung of the ladder.

Perhaps this state of things is not entirely voluntary, but notwithstanding, the result attained is the measure by which the people are governed.

Many a weakminded or selfish man has been coerced into associating himself with a labor organization for no other purpose than to better his own condition—not that he thought of success in mind for his employer and his co-workers, but merely for his own gain and achievement, which goes to prove the thought as expressed by the greatest mediator of modern times that "the entire scheme of labor organizations as illustrated by their results so far is uneconomic and must fall, for you cannot shut others out without shutting yourself in, and when you do that, you are hampering your own growth."

The press of our larger cities are beginning to see the fallacy and unfairness of the demands of labor and are more fearless in their denunciation of the actions of labor organizations.

We are not opposed to unions as unions, but we cannot silently countenance the actions of some of the belligerents, and these actions are many times upheld—in fact, generally so—by the men higher up in the ranks of the organizations.

Why is this selfish unrest on the part of labor?

In our minds it is brought about by the Walking Delegate, who goes around and creates feelings of discontent instead of feelings of contentment; who goes about goading the would-be honest employe to watch his more respected employer; who goes around with a chip on his shoulder, defying the employer of labor, skilled and unskilled, to disregard his demands—just or unjust; who goes about instilling into the head, heart and hand of the industrious employe a feeling of slothfulness, thinking by doing so he is injuring the one and benefiting the other, when in reality he is injuring only himself and his organization, and putting skids under the foundation of his organization that will eventually send it to oblivion.

In this day of light and learning, there is no reason for illiteracy, and if our working men would only read both sides of a question before condemning a company or corporation of employes, there would be less hard times, more men looking to help one another, less men, by far, looking for work, and the general idea would be to live and let live.

Don't you think so? Well, try it for a season and learn to your own satisfaction that all corporations and employers of labor are not rascals, nor all millionaires scoundrels.

A hint to salesmen: If you think your line capable of "selling itself," what is the need for your services?

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The Circle of the Labor Movement*

By J. K. TURNER

Chapter XII.

The Dawn of Brotherhood

FOUR hundred and seventeen years after the strike of the miners and artisans at the Laurian mines in Greece, and seventy years after the strike of the gladiators under Spartacus, there arose an orator out of the laboring classes who told the world that resistance by means of bloody uprisings was fraught with failure.

He told the people: "Ye have heard that it hath been said, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you that ye resist not evil, but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn him the other also." These were strange words, inapplicable to the seething world, but applicable to some perfect state, a realization of heaven on earth.

When Jesus spoke these words, He was in the act of creating an association which lasted for three hundred years, practicing the precepts of its founder. At this time, such doctrines were comprehensible to the masses, notions of the Messiah having existed among the people who were deeply religious. Religion had been based upon human slavery, and although the principle of equality and emancipation of labor had been recognized, it did not exist for many ages.

Through this great movement, a revolutionary blow fell upon the old competitive system. Following the enormous wave of reform of the Christians, an atrophe supervened that benumbed the whole social organism of the Indo-European race and the dark ages superseded the adoption of Christianity and its legalization by Constantine.

To overwhelm the great Pagan religion with its traditions, to annihilate its obstinate cult, to emancipate the two-thirds majority on whose ill-paid labor it had feasted, was a task too profound. It caused a reaction so that the world beheld a terrible jargon of dogmas, tyrannies, and bloody, inquisitorial intolerance which destroyed the virility of the race for more than a thousand years.

The numberless combatants who fell back during this time, emerged with higher hopes and broader views, their manhood cleared of doubts and superstitions. Jesus stood for equal liberty, universal freedom. His sublime love and care were quite enough.

The most renowned governments of the ancients fell because they had their foundation in competition, and they disrespected and degraded the working people. Some of them were tolerated and given a fair trial but Jesus advocated another form which was based on equality and brotherhood.

At the time of the coming of Jesus, all Asia Minor had its labor organizations. The Phoenicians occupied the land of Canaan, where Jesus lived and passed the greater part of His life. The Canaanites, it appears from the researches of historians, were the first to have labor organizations.

In order to be consistent in our study of "The Circle of the Labor Movement," when we return to the labors of Jesus, we must presume that, which some great commentators and even some historians now con-

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sider Him, to-wit, that He was a labor leader. We find that in the list of officials of labor organizations of ancient times, one is "Soter" or "Saviour," and the maxim of the greater organization of the laboring poor into a common brotherhood holds good as far as it is, but to proceed in those ancient times.

The unity and brotherhood shown to have existed among these secret societies and the parallel of their ideals and efforts in all sections of the ancient world is striking in the extreme. They lived in their quiet, fraternal way for many years, organizing, living in common, teaching as they went, and constantly inculcating the spirit of fraternity, as it were underground, while over head in the great competitive world, there was a dawning recognition of the failure of the competitive system.

The ancient working men were powerless when their leadership failed them, and successful through the force of their co-operation, but when the force of their co-operation was modified into channels of a resisting force, it failed because of the fact that its success depended upon the extinction of the social and economic advantage to all, and these advantages cannot be demonstrated by the few at the expense of the many. With the advent of the acceptance of the doctrine of non-resistance as advocated by Jesus, mutual fraternity and arbitration of difficulties without resort to violence or any overt un-Christian-like act, proved by the unions of the trades to be very productive of satisfactory results.

The upper stratum of society was distracted by the consequences of the competitive system, having failed on trial of thousands of generations, the more completely did the brotherly-love system of the unions grow through mutual accord and support.

Thus Purgamus, the seat of the great uprisings of the workingmen, under Aristonicus, B. C. 133-129, became the mellow ground wherein the early Christians planted, and on which they reared one of their most celebrated churches.

The laboring people were in trouble at the time of this uprising,—one of the bloodiest on record. They possessed organizations throughout the country which they were enjoying in apparent peace. Cappadocia, one of the early posts of Christianity, had its labor brotherhoods. This place, with Ephesus and Hireropolis, is where were founded the seven apocalyptic churches. Thus the early church, finding its adoption easiest among the brotherhoods and unions, demonstrated that it had its rise in the fundamental principles of the brotherhoods and that the teachings of the Messiah of non-resistance were more effective and beneficial in the struggles of the masses than all of the ages which had preceded them.

Summing up the mass, we find five great revolutionary characters aside from the Kings, representing five great active lives. They were Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Spartacus, and Jesus.

Jesus gained his great triumph over slavery by adjusting the three moral impulses of Plato and the dilecticians. He soothed the jarring bitterness from its ancient realms and bringing it down to *"want"* and united them together by the tie of sympathy, the impulse most mature by the social unions; and there formed the stronghold of his doctrine from beginning to end.

The experiences of 7,000 generations since Plato has demonstrated the policy of force as combined with the tissue of harmony and absurdity. Plato wanted war. He laid many plans and laws upon this theory of

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external strife. Wars the people had and in the wars millions of slaves were killed. Eunus Athenion and Spartacus resented by warring back, and when the world devastated by combined horrors of war and slavery got time to breathe and recruit, another slave war struck mankind in our civil rebellion, with the final result to fix the conviction that the peace plan of Jesus was correct.

Emancipation came from Christianity. The great principle of mutual love of all men was the original idea and practical work of man. He taught a new doctrine, a peaceful plan of salvation. Modern progress which has almost outgrown chattel slavery seems still quite undecided and threatents to swing back upon the idea of Spartacus, who represented the old method of alleviation from suffering based upon war and bloodshed, were it not for the stern inexorable hold which Jesus maintains upon mankind today, and this hold is the hope of the future.

Modern statesmen disregard the Platonian theory of an eye for an eye, accepting resist not evil, the law of the mechanic of Nazareth, which has so far supplanted these doctrines that our twentieth century labor unions and organizations in many countries are beginning to accept and adopt the spirit of mediation which is the basis of the teachings of the Nazarene, which planted among laborers in all of the vineyards of life that which was good, and from that recognition of a commonality of interest is slowly but surely forcing itself into the curricula of powerful organizations of today.

Who says "good night" to laziness says "good morning" to success.—*H. Conklin.*

Back-Door Philosophy

By "NICODEMUS"

A BLAMELESS person is all very well in a book, to point to a moral or adorn a tale, but in real life he is distinctly disagreeable because he is so different from everyone else.

The theory that a boy may be popped into a school like corn into a mill, to come out, after a time, ready for use, has been exploded by the sad experience of nearly all that have tried it.

Life, labor, love and the struggle for existence belong neither to one sex nor the other, but to humanity, and co-operation must enter into and hold a large place in our future.

The days have gone by when a special righteousness could be claimed by any sect, or an exclusive salvation be regarded as the attribute of any particular confession of faith.

Woman has a work to perform in this life, and the highest chivalry in man is to let her perform it herself.

Like a mud spot, if anyone daubs you with slander, let it alone; for if you attempt to rub it out, you only rub it in deeper; wait until the slander dries out, and then you can brush it off without being contaminated.

In this age today is large and decisive with men.

People are slow to learn the lesson that the best pleasures of life are simple and inexpensive.

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Be Game

Some people are always complaining,
No matter what happens they wail—
It's this or it's that that's against them,
They're always outside of the pale,
When business goes smoothly they grumble,
And if it goes bad it's the same
Get next to this tip, a stiff upper lip
Will help you, just try to BE GAME.

You may think you're used very badly,
You may get discouraged and quit,
It isn't to any one's credit
To shirk and be handed the mitt,
Keep fighting no matter what happens,
You never will suffer the shame
A quitter can feel, so stay in the deal,
You'll win if you'll only BE GAME.

Some times when you've won some great battle,
Of brains, or achieved some great task
In your work, don't count upon glory,
As in Fortune's sunshine you bask.
You've never paid house rent with glory,
The grocer or butcher with fame,
So buckle right in and bring home the tin,
No matter what happens, BE GAME.

You'll find the work the greatest of pleasures;
You're happy and never will shirk
The task that is handed out to you
If you will be true to your work.
Keep plugging when things are aganist you;
No credit whatever to blame;
The little mistake another may make,
It might have been you, so BE GAME.
—C. S. Williams in Pere Marquette Magazine.

"I'll Tell You What's Keeping You Down, Jim."

"I'll tell you what's keeping you down, Jim,
On the same job year after year,
Though your service has been long and faithful
And your record is straight and clear.

I have thought of your case many times, Jim,
And of what I could do for you,
I'd be glad of the chance to promote you,
But, what other work can you do?

There is work to be done, all around you,
That carries more money, and still,
Of all the jobs that surround you,
Which one of them can you fill?

In the years that you've been in the service,
Though you've never been known to shirk,
What time have you spent in preparing
To take up some other man's work?

Opportunity long has been tapping
At your door—it's a hard thing to say,
But you've heard not the sound of her rapping,
She seemingly found you away.

On the heavy up-grade to achievement,
Where the foot-steps of others have led,
It's the men who are always preparing,
That are constantly forging ahead.

There are places ahead to be filled, Jim,
For those who are 'playing the game'
But some never prepare for promotion
The Road is not always to blame."
—A. M. Taylor, B. R. & P. Employes' Magazine.

Man Behind the Smile

I don't know how he is on creeds,
I never heard him say;
But he's got a smile that fits his face,
And he wears it every day.
If things go wrong, he don't complain;
Just tries to see the joke;
He's always finding little ways
Of helping other folk.
He sees the good in every one,
Their faults he never mentions;
He has a lot of confidence
In people's good intentions.
You soon forget what ails you
When you happen 'round this man;
He can cure a case of hypo—
Quicker than the doctor can.
No matter if the sky is gray,
You get his point of view,
And the clouds begin to scatter
And the sun comes breaking through.
You'll know him if you meet him,
And you'll find it worth your while
To cultivate the friendship of
The Man Behind the Smile.
—Selected.

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THE RESPONSIBILITY OF LABOR

THE verdict of $252,000 damages sustained by the Supreme Court against the Hatters' Union and the American Federation of Labor in favor of D. E. Lowe of Danbury, Conn., carries a big lesson to labor of all grades.

It points out in unmistakable terms that it is the immediate duty of every unionist who has a record for personal responsibility to look to it that the constitution and by-laws of his organization are in accordance with the law.

The laws of the land are fundamental and no class of citizens can set themselves apart from the operation of these laws. Labor has always received the sympathy of the people who naturally sympathize with the struggles for advancement of any class of its people, but when society finds any regardless of their positions in the world attempt to set themselves above the law, their reprisals are strong, swift and effective.

The impartiality that society has shown by the tenderness with which it treats those who have so grievously offended them is evidenced by this verdict. The unions are not dissolved as many capitalistic trusts. They are told to reform. The existence of unions has not been assailed. They may organize for all lawful purposes although they have broken the law. There is the same law for capital and for labor, as applied to blacklisting and boycotts. Both are wrong and must cease. The sacred right of labor to work is not the sole possession of the unionists or organized labor. It belongs to all and conspiracies to monopolize it are illegal as well as immoral and the courts of the land holding unions responsible for wrongful acts will be of benefit to the unions, provided the responsible membership in these unions, which is the backbone and sinew of them, recognize that they owe a duty not only to the unions

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but to society and see to it that both unions and society work in co-operation and harmony.

There is not one law for the unionists and another for the non-unionist. Unionists have no right to conspire to take away the jobs from the non-unionists. This has been decided first by a jury on the facts and second by a court interpreting the law. Within the ranks of the wage earners there are ten times as many benefited by this decision as there are aggrieved by it.

All citizens, union or non-union, are benefited by equality before the law.

Things are bound to balance. Who sets too swift a pace outside of business hours, sets too slow a pace during them.

The Farmer Pays

MR. PETER RADFORD, national lecturer of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, has called extra-crew laws and kindred legislation a useless tax on agriculture. Mr. Radford takes the position that the expenses of all lines of industry are paid by the farmer, and that when the cost of operating any line of business is unnecessarily increased, it works a hardship on the farmers of the nation. Mr. Radford, in a recent interview, spoke in part as follows: "There is no payroll in civilization that does not rest upon the back of the farmer. He must pay the bills—all of them. When a farmer buys a plow he pays the man who mined the metal, the woodman who felled the tree, the manufacturer who assembled the raw material and shaped it into an article of usefulness, the railroad that transported it and the dealer who sold him the goods. He pays the wages of labor and capital employed in the transaction as well as pays for the tools, machinery, building, etc., used in the construction of the commodity, and the same applies to all articles of use and diet of himself and those engaged in the subsidiary lines of industry. The total value of the nation's annual agricultural products is around $12,000,000,000, and it is safe to estimate that ninety-five cents on every dollar goes to meeting the expenses of subsidiary industries. The farmer does not work more than thirty minutes per day for himself, the remaining thirteen hours of the day's toil he devotes to meeting the payroll of the hired hands of agriculture, such as the manufacturer, railroad, commercial and other servants. The farmers of the United States are not financially able to carry 'dead heads' on their payrolls. Our own hired hands are not paid unless we have something for them to do, and we are not willing to carry the hired help of dependent industries unless there is work for them. We must therefore insist upon the most rigid economy. The farmer is the paymaster of industry and as such he must meet the nation's payroll."—*Railway Review* (Chicago).

The things a man "has a leaning toward" should be things capable of supporting him and not things that will cause him to lose his balance.

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A Bar to Progress

SECTIONAL and geographical lines have been used to the detriment of the advancement of the human race. The spirit of the family, the clan, the race, are accentuated and emphasized for no other purpose than for dividing men. In Germany, in France, in England, or any other nation which has boundary lines, customs, language and traditions, all tend to close men in and by the same act automatically shutting out others.

America is the only exception to this traditional rule, but still we find denominations and organizations which are copying the mistaken policies and traditions which are so accentuated in the present conflict. As a matter of fact, none of the actual contestants in the war know each other or have any grievance against the other. The very fact that their language, ideas and associations are different would make it impossible that they should have any differences which could be sufficiently acute to cause them to be at war with each other.

Here we find the lines closely drawn, by leaders of the various cults, and associations, attempting to aggrandize its membership at the expense of the non-membership and in this lies an economic waste also a danger to the perpetuation of our free institutions.

You cannot divide a people without depriving them of the advantages of the association, and association is the prime factor of the social animal, man. This is indicated by his dread of loneliness and his constant effort to get away from himself.

If the world is to make any progress it must come through association and friendly interest of all men of all climes and all creeds. Within the last century boundary lines have been eliminated and with the development of transportation and communication men have been drawn into closer association so that the product of every portion of the world is at the disposal of every other portion and in this fact is the development of our civilization.

Another significant fact, demonstrating the truth underlying this thought, are the conditions in America, the home of the free, and conditions abroad. Here every man is free in a measure to develop or not as his inclination and ability may justify. Here we are at peace. There is a measure of discontent, true, but it is a healthy discontent for the majority of the people are progressing. Within the last century America has risen to the proud eminence she holds in the world today. She is the natural leader in everything and this is due to the fact that notwithstanding that we have within our boundaries arbitrary lines dividing states and nations north and south of us still we recognize our interdependence upon each other, and no artificial barriers have been erected to keep us apart. We have let down the bars to enable us to expand and we are slowly but surely absorbing the best that there is in our neighbors, and as all growth comes from what we absorb from outside, it is logical development resulting from our freedom of communication and exchange of ideas one with the other.

We have traditions and ideals that differ with the ideals and traditions of our neighbors who are at our elbow, but we realize that they have their ideals and that their ideals are just as important to them as ours are to us, and in this spirit of tolerance we interchange ideals and

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we find that the difference is merely a difference of our methods of expressing them.

We all have a common goal and we all are drifting toward it. As the years pass and we recognize this more clearly, our advancement will be in proportion to our ability to put ourselves in the other fellow's place and be kind.

Pride of position and pride of family is ridiculous when we analyze ourselves and our progenitors. We all had one set of parents, four grandparents, eight great grandparents, sixteen great great grandparents and so on back but ten generations we find that our direct lineal ancestors numbered 1,024.

If we go back still further we become involved and find that not only are we alike in our general stature and make-up, but if we trace back far enough we will find that we are like the leaves of the tree, all coming from one parent stalk. Hence the differences between us are the differences of development; we all belong to a common family, this indicates that we have a common interest, and our common interests are never conserved by quarreling with each other. Warfare and strife are wasteful. Peace and harmony develop men. Co-operation will eliminate warfare and strife. Therefore if we wish to advance and develop we must get into line and co-operate to the best of our ability with our brothers.

That man runs the best race whose pacemaker is AMBITION and whose endurance is the endurance of DETERMINATION.

Self-Dependence—Independence

THE committee for the unemployed in New York City are sending out various appeals to the press of the country in their effort to relieve the present situation of unemployment. Consideration for their efforts is the first thought of the thinking man, but sober second thought asks the question, "Why should this condition prevail at this time when nature has been so prolific in her productions, for all that man needs for his well being comes from nature?"

It is not the intention of THE MEDIATOR to criticise the efforts of these various committees which are devoting time and attention to the solving of the immediate problem of unemployment. Rather it wants to emphasize the fact that this condition of which they complain should never have been allowed to occur, and that you never can paliate an evil by relieving the suffering of the moment.

In physical comfort science has got below the surface of things and no longer do they devote their energies to curing disease but center all their energies upon preventing it. If the effort that is applied to relieve the conditions which now prevail and the same amount of energy be applied to prevent the recurrence of this condition, much good will accrue not only to the immediate sufferers but to those who are yet to follow.

The student of affairs and conditions realizes that a great deal of this difficulty which produces unemployment and hard times is due to the activity of the demagogue and the spell binders, whose sole efforts

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are to tear down business, and that they have succeeded beyond their wildest expectations is evidenced by this condition.

Now this same class turn to the very people whom they tried to ruin and ask them to sacrifice all in order that they may again pose as the only real friend of the worker.

The worker if he learns anything from the hard lessons of today he learns that his real friend is *himself*, and as he depends upon his daily task for his future, anything or anyone that interferes with his opportunity to work out his own salvation is in the final analysis his enemy.

Are you paid for what you do or what you know?

Loyalty Needed

THE trend of conditions indicates a restlessness and discontent that is particularly noticeable at this time, due to the depression in business. The various investigations being conducted in the different parts of the country are not having a tendency to settle matters or to improve conditions.

In times like the present when it is necessary for man to conserve all of his energies, as well as his resources, the real test of manhood becomes apparent. The demagogue becomes more vociferous and insistent upon his ways and the conservative man reasons from effect of cause and is beginning to see clearly that through the miasmic fogs of doubt which have permeated our industrial structures for the past decade the atmosphere is clearing in so far as it is demonstrating to him at least that the policy of destructive criticism is in no small measure responsible for conditions today.

Conservative labor leaders who realize the dangers of the present moment are advocating more consideration and deliberation in the affairs of their organizations among their constituents. From all sections of the country comes information to the effect that criticism upon the non-attendance of the membership to the various organizations and lodge rooms would indicate that the leaders themselves begin to see the dangers of this lack of interest. With conditions and times as they are and the necessity for economy on the part of everyone, they realize that the enormous expenses attached to the propaganda of which they are at the head is beginning to bear fruit in the shape of discontent on the part of the membership with the continued assessments to meet expenses of the organizations, which, instead of diminishing in a ratio in proportion to the diminished income of the members, is increasing.

Several prominent labor leaders are making an effort to get the rank and file together and impress upon them the necessity of their taking more than a passing interest in the affairs of their organizations. They are pointing out the danger of permitting a radical minority to shape their policies at this time. The fact that they are insistent upon in demanding a loyalty on the part of the entire organization would indicate that they fear a continuation of this policy will result in the disintegration of their powerful organizations. They realize that a house that is divided among themselves is bound to fall, that they are divided

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is plainly indicated in facts that have been brought out in previous articles in THE MEDIATOR showing the affairs of the organizations are shaped and controlled almost entirely by a minority which has no sense of responsibility. Age brings wisdom. The older members of the organizations must shoulder the responsibility for the conditions complained of.

Whether or not we agree with the propaganda of the various labor organizations, we do agree with the leaders that a membership in an organization on the part of the entire constituency carries with it a responsibility for *all* the acts of the organization and unless the conservative members are willing to help to shape the policies of their organizations, they cannot complain of the drift of events which is slowly but surely forcing these organizations into channels which spell their disintegration.

Don't depend upon a pull. Learn to do your own pulling.—*Forest Cheney.*

Let Us Have Peace

REGARDLESS of our opinion as to the wisdom of the course adopted by our President, he has forced home the conviction to all men of his honesty of intent.

The daily press publishes a dispatch which states in substance that our president has sent a letter to chairman Underwood commending the work of the democratic congress, and further goes on to state that no more laws will be enacted by the present administration aimed at the business interests of the country.

The editorial columns of the papers are strangely quiet on this reversal of policy at Washington. What caused it? If it was honest, just and right two years ago to attack the business of the country, why is it not right today? And why should our President notify his lieutenant in Congress that he wished to call a halt on business baiting, tactics which have marked the entire activities of Congress for the last twenty months?

In view of this startling reversal of tactics, it is pertinent to consider what has been accomplished by these tactics. One of the most spectacular, searching and exhaustive investigations of big business that has occupied the center of the stage for the past year has been the New Haven investigation. The Saturday Evening Post, one of the most conservative and influential of our publications, says: "There is nothing to indicate that the New Haven directors did not believe that the policy that they were pursuing would ultimately benefit those whose trustees they were. There is no proof that any of them expected a dishonest, personal profit from it. What has developed is that they made investments as trustees expecting a legitimate profit and these investments turned out to be disastrous."

The Post further says: "Yet the politicians and the newspapers have neglected no opportunity to declare that the New Haven directors are thieves and that they made personal fortunes by corruptly betraying the trust reposed in them, and that they should be criminally prosecuted."

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The Post further says: "The New Haven has not disclosed a moral plane so low as the sordid and callous combination by members of Congress to squander public money for objects it knows are of no adequate public benefit and for the direct personal profit of members of that combine. The indefensible pork barrel appropriations are for the gain of those who engineered them; tantamount to tapping the public till for the individual Congressman's campaign fund. Nothing so rotten as that turned up in the New Haven mess. A Congress that comes into power with high professions of devotion to the public weal and stern denunciation of its predecessors' extravagance and immediately sticks both arms up to the elbow into the public treasury makes a spectacle from which there will be some day a re-action as powerful as that against the deviltries of high finance."

It's the "live wires" who set the world on fire.

The Idle Poor

A FEW years ago a writer wrote the story "The Passing of the Idle Rich." The tenor of the thought was that this passing would lead to a solution of existing social disturbances.

The passing of the idle poor seems to be the proper way to remove the causes of which we complain. There is a wide difference of opinion as to the best methods of assisting in the passing of the idle poor, but it appears to the writer that there are two important angles to the problem. First and foremost is the awakening within the breasts of the idle poor a desire for a change, so that when the opportunity is presented them, they will grasp it with avidity and accept and make the most of their opportunities.

The second is in the development of *all our resources* in every field, thereby creating opportunities to eliminate enforced idleness.

Thinkers are agreed that the cause for idleness is economic and not a social problem. Laws cannot correct evils inherent in a mistaken economic condition or policy. You cannot remove idleness by placing the burden on society. You must remove the burden by methods that will improve the opportunities for all.

The hold-back policy that is receiving so much encouragement is an economic fallacy. The only effect that has come from twenty years of more or less adherence to this policy has been to intensify the cause for idleness. Waste is abhorred in nature. You find none there. Man must get in tune with nature and his natural ability must be developed, not curbed.

Successful men create opportunities for those less successful. This is a recognized truth and any policy that tends to discourage success on the part of the individual or individuals, tends to increase the ratio of the idle poor.

Confidence is the keynote of all progress, whether this be the confidence of the individual in himself or confidence of those dependent upon the individual or groups of individuals, or confidence on the part of the whole people in the system and industry. Back of this must be confi-

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dence in our government and its officials, and their ability to assist in the development of every individual unit.

Favoritism has no place in business, for that business that is built upon friendship spells failure, but friendship that is built up through business associations and square dealing makes for development and progress.

We have passed through an era of criticism. Criticism that is intelligent and based upon actual knowledge is always welcome to a progressive people, but criticism that has a basis only in the desire to criticize is harmful.

It's a good rule never to observe a poor rule.

Serpent of the Streets

No one more deserves to be branded a murderer than he who mounted on a soap box harangues a crowd of the passers by. No title better befits him than that of Cain, for, jealous of his brother's peace of mind, he slays in his brother's heart the great gift of God, contentment.

That man on the soap box is the one who is envious of another's wealth; who sees oppression in the administration of justice and slavery in the fulfillment of duty. The passions and poisons that fill his heart and mind he seeks to inject into others. He lures them to him with his oratory; he paints for them disproportionate pictures of wealth; he maligns state and church; he pities honorable poverty; he mocks honest labor; he disparages duty; he magnifies rights; he sneers at justice; he nourishes greed; he encourages envy; he deprecates authority; he falsifies truth; he ridicules morality; at times he even preaches sedition and rebellion. He takes the man who had pleasure in his daily occupation, love for his home, pride in his nation and the fear of God in his heart and makes of him a malcontent. He robs the nation of a virile citizen and gives it a disgruntled fault-finder who will eventually terminate his life in a prison or a poor-house.

Yet this disruptor of our civic stability is becoming more and more an institution of our cities. He is the subtle poisoner of the peace of men. To close forever one's ears to his rantings alone assures one of happiness. For he who is stung by the venom of this serpent of the streets will be driven on for many a day by the unsatiable passions of greed and envy.—*New World.*

Every man is where he is because of what he is.

Ten Trade Commandments

At the plant of a prominent steel manufacturing concern in Johnstown, Pa., the following 10 commandments have been adopted for the guidance of the employes:

Thou shalt have no other thoughts than thy work.

Thou shalt take no unnecessary risks, nor try to show off, nor play

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practical jokes, for by this carelessness thou mayest do injury which will have effect unto the third and fourth generations to follow.

Thou shalt not swear nor lose thy temper when things do not go just right.

Remember thou art not the only one on the job, and that other lives are just as important as thine own.

Honor thy job and thyself, that thy days may be long in employment.

Thou shalt not clean machinery while it is in motion.

Thou shalt not watch thy neighbor's work, but attend to thine own.

Thou shalt not let the sleeves of thy shirt hang loose, nor the flaps of thy coat to be unbuttoned, as they may get caught in the machinery.

Thou shalt not throw matches or greasy waste on the floor, nor scatter oil around the bearings, as a dirty worker is a clumsy worker, and a clumsy worker is a menace to his fellow-workers.

Thou shalt not interfere with the switches, nor the dynamos, nor the cables, nor the engines, nor anything else thou art told is dangerous. —*Texas Republic.*

Not a Square Deal

THE essence of good government is equality before the law. Our post office department at Washington, which has been much criticized of late, seems to fail to comprehend the fundamental principles of equality. If the following dispatch is any indication of their methods, it indicates a spirit of unfairness which has no place in our governmental regime.

Ralph Peters, chairman of the committee on railroad mail pay, has just issued this statement:

"The Panama railroad has only one stockholder—the government of the United States. The railroads operating in the United States are owned by hundreds of thousands of citizens, who hold their stock and bonds.

"Panama railroad in the last fiscal year received more than $2.77 for each ton of mail carried one mile. This is shown by figures in its annual report. Postoffice department has estimated that the railroads of the United States receive approximately 10 cents for each ton of mail carried a mile.

"The rate paid the government-owned Panama railroad for carrying the mails is therefore about twenty-eight times as great as the average rate paid the privately owned railroads of the United States.

"Had the Panama railroad been paid at the average rate allowed the railroads of the United States, it would have received last year only about $9,000 for carrying the mails. It actually received $250,306.

"On the other hand, if the railroads of the United States last year had been paid the Panama railroad rate, their receipts for carrying the mails would have been $1,557,000,000, or more than five times the total revenues of the postoffice department. They actually received $56,000,000, or about one-fifth of the department's revenues.

"The high rate paid the Panama railroad for carrying the mails is not warranted on the ground that its mail traffic is small and that it is therefore performing a retail service. On the contrary, its mail traffic is large, exceeding 10,400 pounds daily."

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The Mediator

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The Agency of a United People

A striking comparison between a homogeneous country and a heterogeneous group of countries is obtained by placing over the map of the United States the map of Europe. These represent the same area —about 3,000,000 square miles—if a few of the remote provinces of Russia are omitted.

Europe has the advantage in population, with more than four times as many people as the United States. in the number of large cities, with two and a half times as many cities of over 100,000 population.

Yet the United States, a comparatively young country, has outstripped Europe in the diffusion of civilization, because of its wonderfully greater means of communication between all parts of its area. The United States not only excels in transportation facilities, but it has nearly three times as many telephones as Europe, or about eleven times as many in relation to population.

By the completion of the Transcontinental Line we now talk from one end of this country to the other, while in Europe the longest conversation is no farther than from New York to Atlanta, and even that depends on the imperfect co-operation of unrelated systems.

Europe, with twenty-five countries and many different languages, serves as an illuminating contrast to the United States, with one language and a homogeneous people, despite the fact that our population has been derived from all parts of the world.

During the last forty years the steadily extending lines of the Bell System have contributed in no small measure to this amalgamating of different races. The latest achievement—the linking of coast to coast—has given greater force to the national motto, "E Pluribus Unum."

AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY

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THE MEDIATOR

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SENSATIONALISM AND ANARCHY

By J. K. TURNER

SPECTACULARISM is not conducive to development. People only desire to be amused during their leisure. If their periods of amusement are extended beyond reason, poverty stalks. Balance is the safety line of Nature. Everywhere in Nature do we find balance, and it is only when this balance becomes disturbed that Nature is spectacular and destructive.

One of the most spectacular events occurring recently is the comic opera arrest of dynamiters by the New York police. An army of police, disguised as washerwomen, etc., surrounded the edifice, resulting in the arrest of one boy who had placed a lighted bomb within the Cathedral for the purpose of destroying it and sacrificing innocent lives, and we are informed by the hero of the occasion, this was part of the plan which was to precede a general revolution on the part of the anarchists,—that terrible bugaboo to society.

"My head was turned by what I had been reading about conditions. The bomb was needed to make a change in conditions. I did not want to injure the people, but the rich must be frightened into knowing the conditions of the poor," was the statement made by the boy arrested for lighting the bomb.

A few years ago the civilized world was paralyzed with the news that our president was shot at Buffalo, while a guest of the Pan-American Exposition. The trial developed the fact that the assassin was a weak-minded foreigner whose brain had become inflamed by constantly reading our yellow press, whose unfair and illogical views of conditions of the day were of a similar nature to those responsible for the remarks of the poor, deluded boy now awaiting punishment in New York.

For the past decade, as an aftermath of yellow journalism, there has swept over this country a wave of hysterical condemnation directed against success. So acute has this campaign become, that it has entered into our social, political, and civic life, and as our newspapers and periodicals are our means of exchange of ideas, thoughts, and problems, it is self evident that they are in no small measure responsible for the general acceptance of a gospel of unrest and the powerful influence its exponents have achieved.

So far has this developed that our government, if we are to judge by its activities today and the immediate past, seems to exist, for no other purpose than to criticize and penalize success, with the false view of enhancing the importance of failure and mediocrity.

The law of the survival of the fit which differentiates between success and failure is a natural law. It has been relegated to the scrap heap; all that is needed to bring about censure from the press and inquisitorial activities of the government, is to be successful.

Recently an editorial appeared in one of the New York dailies which said: "The I. W. W. threaten a still further and more insistent campaign this winter in New York than last, and we warn them that patience ceases to be a virtue."

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It is a matter of congratulation that the press of the country is beginning to see the error of its ways and is becoming more fearless and outspoken against law-breakers, either as individuals or in groups.

Some men rise in public estimation and become objects of public interest thru fame. Others, lacking the ability to become famous, become notorious and it is from the latter class that our criminals are drawn—criminals of a dangerous type,—criminals who for the sake of spectacularism and notoriety of a few hours will sacrifice their all.

When the assassin of King Humbert of Italy was asked why he, an Italian American, left America to kill the Italian ruler, he said that he wished the world to know that he had lived. This poor dupe sacrificed his life for a moment's notoriety; if he had not been encouraged in the knowledge that sensationalism would appeal to the average publicist, King Humbert might have lived his allotted days.

Recently we had the exposition in New York of men of affairs to whose efforts and ability more benefit has resulted to their times than any other men in history, being dragged from the privacy of their retirement to explain, under the authority of our government, matters which a generation ago were considered personal.

The Colorado incident is fresh in the minds of the people. Our president interested himself in a laudable effort to bring about peace; here we witness the spectacle of men and women, more notorious for their anarchistic utterances, actions and activities, than for a disposition to be law-abiding, were received by the head of the nation and their advice considered on a parity if not of more value than those who made possible the development of our industries.

The press recently eulogized one anarchist who is distinguished only for having attempted to murder one of our successful captains of industry. A year ago a mysterious explosion occurred in the city of New York in which two men were blown to pieces. Later developments brought out the fact that these men were manufacturing dynamite bombs for similar purposes to that developed in the conspiracy to blow up the Cathedral. As these men are dead, we must take the word of their co-conspirator, who said openly in a public speech at St. Louis that this bomb which caused the death of these men was being prepared to assassinate one of our foremost citizens.

The press quotes him as follows:

"The plot to assassinate the Rockefellers was just another phase in the long fight for freedom. I believe that the laboring people are justified in the use of violence to attain their ends because when using violent methods, they are meeting violence with violence."

In New York City there are daily meetings in public addressed by incendiarists, who are openly advocating that their hearers walk into the stores and business houses and take what they want, and we learn that groups of them have recently been making a practice of going in a body to certain popular restaurants and eating their fill, and telling the proprietor to send the bill to the mayor of the city.

Meetings that are openly held in different parts of the city are closely guarded by police, but no attempt is made to suppress these incendiary utterances. Why? Have the finest police in the world a yellow streak? Are they afraid of the mob? Is their action in the Cathedral dynamite case a spectacular effort to make good?

The country is going through a period of very severe depression. Everywhere want stalks ominously. Conditions are showing little if

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any signs of improvement. Nature is more kindly to us than we deserve, and that there has been little suffering is due to Nature's generosity in holding off the rigors of weather. Yet soup kitchens prevail. All of these facts have a tendency to unsettle the mind of the average man and fill him with concern for the immediate future.

Each man is as big as the problem he faces. When the problem becomes too great for him, he attempts to shift it. If successful, well and good. If not, insanity is at hand. When weak minds, such as the boys under arrest in New York, the assassins of Garfield, McKinley, and King Humbert, under-go continual suffering and read, continually reiterated, that conditions are not natural but are forced by this or that system, this or that governmental policy, this or that policy of the employing and wealthy interests, it is not to be wondered at, in view of the incendiary utterances of the press and the soap-box orators who are always available, that a carnival of crime results.

There are three sources of responsibility, one lies in our government. Surely it was not intended that freedom of speech and the freedom of our press should be abused? That freedom of speech, both vocal and printed, had been abused in this country to the curtailment of our liberties, is evidenced by the growth of lawlessness which has reached such a stage in New York City that, if we are to judge by events, the authorities are helpless before it.

The second responsibility for this condition is the sensational press of the country. It would be well for them to read understandingly the lives of Robespierre and Marat, and they will understand how such a policy of vituperation and condemnation of success and emphasis of crime and spectacularism is bound, sooner or later, to prove their frankenstein. The third, while less responsible than all, still the most dangerous, is the vapid mouthings of demagogues who are permitted, through a mistaken application of the rights of free speech, to continually roam up and down our cities, arousing the people's baser natures and passions, advocating destruction of all law and all justice.

The people must act.

In this country we have 35,000,000 workers, men and women, the majority of whom realize and recognize that their future lies in their opportunities, and that their opportunities must be created through their own best efforts, and thus only does success come to them. The majority of these people only desire to be left alone to work out their destinies, realizing that each man must work out in his own way his own problem. Nature teaches us that, and we realize consciously or unconsciously, that Nature's laws are effective because they are inexorable. Hence intelligent people smile and ignore the petty propaganda of those few who would set aside the natural laws and attempt to make them inoperative through artificial laws. All people are selfish, but there is a distinction between selfishness and greed. Selfishly our press desires to emphasize, as does every thinker, its views. If the writers who pen our editorials and articles believe in their policies and the principles that they advocate, they are unsound and do not appeal to reasonable men.

If they write as a matter of policy, then selfishness becomes greed, and truth is never an associate of greed. If the growth of unrest is to have an expression through such incidents as advocated by the press and our anarchistic demagogic citizens, the people must realize where the responsibility lies. If in order to suppress such tactics on the part of those who write to inflame the public mind, it is necessary that the pub-

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lic become aroused and correct these evil conditions, if nothing will arouse the public but the destruction of life by the lawless element, then will the reprisals of the public be swift and sure. It is due to the able minds which guide our editorial policies both in the news and editorial columns to see to it that the public is informed as to the real criminals, to the end that they may be punished instead of the poor dupes as was the case in the instance of McKinley's death.

One of our former presidents in unmistakable language pointed out the real murderers of McKinley. If it is essential that the real disturbers of the peace should be brought to the bar of public opinion, there is sufficient patriotism and love of humanity and common sense still in this country to see to it that the demagogues and inciters to riot, murder, and arson, both in and out of public office, and in and out of our editorial sanctums, are exposed and hoisted on their own petards.

Justice is the concomitant of liberty. Liberty has never advocated license, and license must be kept within the limits of restraint by law; if the liberty of press and speech has been turned into license, then let us crush license that our spirit of liberty, unity, and equality, may return once more.

Lincoln said: "This nation cannot exist half free and half slave." No more can it exist when liberty is accorded to the few to abuse it through license at the expense of the many.

Liberty and justice are twins, and liberty and justice accord equality to the successful as well as the unsuccessful. If the successful abuse their liberty, they are checked by law. Hence we have a precedent whereby we can check the unsuccessful who are today running riot over the land, over-riding law and liberty in the name of license.

Let the editors of the press who are inflaming the minds of the unbalanced to acts complained of, cease their tactics. Let the notoriety seekers understand in unmistakable terms that the press of the country will not be made a *particeps criminis* to their desire for notoriety. Let them cease carrying flowers to the murderers, oral or natural, and the murderer's cell will not be as attractive as it is.

New York Press has been the pioneer in suppressing the grewsome details of the execution of her criminals, realizing that such descriptions and making heroes of criminals has had a detrimental effect upon the morally degenerate and weak, and although they made no flare of trumpets, this reform, unquestionably is one of the most beneficent and revolutionary changes that has come into the attitude of the press on these questions, in a hundred years.

Let New York, which is the seething hotbed of discontent and the home of the anarchistic element, whom she is threatening through her editorial columns, frown down through the columns of her press on all law breakers.

The gun men are a memory. The police of New York and the press suppressed them. No small measure of success in their campaign can be attributed to the ignoring of spectacular tactics which appeal to the average gun man and his worshippers.

When our male and female anarchists and contributors of incendiary ideas are no longer flaunted through the pages of our press and pictorially described in characteristic poses, they will go out of fashion and law will reign supreme once more.

If, as has been claimed by some of the New York journalists, "New York's finest have a yellow streak," it is due to the fact that they have

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felt that public opinion was not back of them and they gathered their views thru the same medium of publicity that has been expending its best energies in advocating measures of lawlessness and eulogizing law-breakers.

New York complains of its number of unemployed. New York City supports over two million workers; less than 10% are unemployed, we are told by statistics, and they also tell us that less than 10% of the unemployed will accept work when offered, which indicates that New York City is suffering less from unemployment than other cities. New York is feeding thousands daily for the cost of a penny,—a meritorious, praiseworthy act. It might be well for New York to find out what per cent of the thousands she feeds daily are adherents of the "I Won't Work" policy.

Can you afford to lose your self esteem?

Who Am I?

———I am the foundation of all business.

I am the fount of all prosperity.

I am the parent, most times, of genius.

I am the salt that gives life its savor.

I have laid the foundation of every fortune in America, from Rockefeller's down.

I must be loved before I can bestow my greatest blessings and achieve my greatest ends. Loved, I make life sweet and purposeful and fruitful.

I can do more to advance a youth than his own parents, be they ever so rich.

Fools hate me; wise men love me.

I am represented in every loaf of bread that comes from the oven, in every train that crosses the Continent, in every ship that steams over the ocean, in every newspaper that comes from the press.

I am the mother of democracy.

All progress springs from me.

The man who is bad friends with me can never get very far—and stay there.

The man who is good friends with me, who is not afraid of me, can go—who can tell how far?

Who am I?

What am I?

I AM WORK.—*B. C. Forbes in American.*

The main thing is to believe in youself.

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Social Tendencies

By W. J. BETHUNE

Part III.

Government Operation.

WHILE the same general tendency to form a trust is common to the monopoly interests in every business, the physical, industrial and political conditions are such as to render it much easier for the monopoly interests in certain industries, than in others, to organize under one management so as to control production and competition. We can readily see that the few monopolists controlling the railroads, or the group who have a legal monopoly of the deposits of anthracite coal, could combine into a successful trust much easier than the great number of monopolists who control the locations adapted to wheat production.

With us today probably the industry in which the conditions are most favorable for the development of a perfect trust is in railroad transportation, with the steel and iron business a close second.

Transportation lies at the root of co-operative production. Even in small primitive communities in order to reap any benefit from the difference in the natural aptitude of individuals or locations, there must be some means of communication between neighbors. Before the farmer, village blacksmith, shoemaker and tailor can exchange labor products, there must be roads between their different locations along which they can transport their commodities for exchange. In the earlier stages of co-operative production when there was abundance of free land, the processes of industry were few and simple, and trade limited. Under these conditions the free earth road served the needs of trade. As population increased, industrial locations became monopolized and labor saving methods of production were developed. That step in production which consists of transporting unfinished wealth to and from the market and in carrying passengers became a business of itself and has made great strides ahead from the pack horse to the modern railway system.

Starting with free public roads through free land, the legal monopoly of the locations best adapted for that branch of production which consists of transporting unfinished wealth and passengers, has kept pace with the legal monopoly of locations where it is possible to use the raw material and forces of nature in co-operative production. And it is in using their control of government to secure special privileges in the form of rights of way and grants of land to railroad corporations, that all classes of location monopolists have worked most harmoniously in the past. In fact these railroad projects were usually pushed through by a group of monopolists who legally owned a large number of industrial locations near the proposed right of way.

All location holders realize that increase in the productive power of labor depends on more efficient co-operation. They also realize there can be no co-operation without transportation, and that consequently the increased productive power which comes from more efficient co-operation must largely depend upon better and more economical transportation. Grasping this fact, legal monopolists of industrial locations naturally turn their attention to securing better transportation facilities

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that will increase the wealth output of their wage slaves and thus increase their monopoly revenue.

Having, with the assistance of their fellow location monopolists, secured the monopoly of the most desirable transportation rights of way (locations), these railway monopolists begin to take advantage of their legal privilege, and appropriate to themselves most of the benefits of the efficiency of railroad transportation as compared with transportation by wagons over free public roads. Their interest in the railway monopoly being greater than their interest as monopolists of other industrial locations, they begin to charge all the traffic will bear; that is, their transportation rates are only enough less than the cost of hauling by wagon over free roads to make it more profitable for shippers to patronize the railroad. This gives rise to a movement amongst other industrial location holders to encourage railroad competition. They use their control of government to grant a monopoly of another right of way through the same territory to another corporation, expecting that competition for trade will result in lower freight rates.

Here are now two distinct railway systems. Each costs about as much as the other to build and operate, and in order to insure competition they must share the traffic between them. If one railroad was able to handle all the traffic and the other was called into being not because of a need for more service, but only in order to reduce monopoly profits by competition, it is evident that the cost of keeping up and operating the two systems will take twice as much of the gross revenue that comes from the transportation business in that territory. And even although freight rates were not reduced, the monopoly profits of the railway business as a whole would be reduced. That is to say, the kind of competition generated by monopoly would reduce the efficiency of railway transportation one half, as a factor in wealth production. And the probabilities are that freight rates would have to remain at the same level in order to maintain the two roads in operation and to secure so called competition. Even if the increased cost of operation did not absorb all the monopoly profits, instead of keeping up competition and reducing transportation charges, the ease with which two corporations with identical interests can combine for mutual benefit would inevitably bring about a trust to restrict competition and keep up freight rates.

This has been the history of railroad development with us. And today the transportation business is controlled by the legal owners of a few systems that have no competition in the great domain each serves and exploits. And as transportation is the keystone of co-operative production, these railroad barons get the first grasp on the spoils and are able to appropriate the lion's share of the benefits of co-operative production that goes to the monopolizers of industrial locations as a whole.

Think of the revenue that is annually divided as dividends and interest amongst the holders of railway stocks and bonds, the amounts paid under the fictitious head of "salaries" to unproductive office holders, and the annual value of the increased stock issued against capitalized future profits (watered stock). Add all this together and we get some faint idea of the enormous volume of wealth taken every year as monopoly revenue out of the products of co-operative production by this one group of legal monopolists without their giving anything in return.

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ALTHOUGH no other group of location monopolists has yet reached the development in trust organization attained by the railroad corporations, the same general tendency exists, and they are progressing fast towards the perfect trust.

Legal privilege is concentrating year by year into fewer hands and with it is arising a struggle between monopoly forces. There is a growing unity of action amongst monopolists in all other branches of industry to use the powers of government which they control to direct the monopoly profits which now go to the railroad corporations into the hands of the monopolists of other industrial locations. This movement takes the form of government ownership and operation. It does not get its impetus from the workers, nor would government ownership improve the condition of the wage slaves as many earnest advocates of the measure suppose. The strength of the movement comes from legal monopolists operating coal and iron mines, lumber companies, manufacturing corporations, city and suburban land companies, owners of farms and building sites, and other location monopolists. All these monopolists know that cheaper transportation would mean higher rents and selling price (capitalized rent) for their monopolies. The workers may not *know* but they *feel* they would not benefit by government ownership. What they gained in transportation they would lose in higher rents for other industrial locations. Of course some productive workers own bonds and stocks in industrial concerns, and building sites and farms, and they would benefit to the extent of their holdings by the government ownership of railroads. They would benefit to the small extent in which they are monopolists, but they would receive no benefit as workers.

THE consummation of the railroad trust marks the coming of an industrial and political readjustment, the birth of a new form of slavery that will supplant the industrial slavery of our times.

The unity of action that has existed in the past amongst monopolists in using their power of control over government to perpetuate the special privileges of location monopolists as a whole, is now broken. The power of the railroad trust to rob their unorganized fellow monopolists in other branches of industry has divided location monopolists into two opposing factions, the organized railroad combines and the unorganized location owners in other industries. As competition between individual monopolists in the industrial field begins to disappear, competition begins to appear between the monopoly trust in one industry and monopoly units in other industries for the control of the source of all monopoly powers, that is, for control of government.

To strengthen their hand and guard against loss by the breaking up of their monopoly trust through possible government ownership the railroad trust is reaching out and getting control of large numbers of locations in other industries, notably in the coal, iron and steel business; and the trust combine, the trust of trusts, already begins to show on the industrial horizon.

Judging from present tendencies government ownership and operation of railroads and other industries will ultimately come. The probable course will be in the following order: The gradual concentration of the location monopolies in every industry into few hands; the com-

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bining into a trust of competing monopoly operators in each industry; and the absorption of separate individual trusts, as fast as formed, by the trust of trusts.

In the struggle between unorganized monopolists and the organized monopoly trusts for the control of government, the unorganized monopolists are stronger today than they will be in the future. Every industrial trust that develops will naturally amalgamate with or be absorbed by the trust of trusts, thus adding to the strength of this central trust and reducing the power of the unorganized monopolists. And if the central trust—today represented by the railroad monopoly combine—has not already got control of government the day is not far distant when other industrial trusts will ripen, and being absorbed by the central trust will enable this giant monopoly to grasp and control government.

Then the central trust will be ready for government ownership, for that will simply mean ownership by the central trust.

Having control of government this great monopoly combine will dicate the terms on which the government may take over and operate the railroads. It will dictate freight and passenger rates, appoint officials and fix salaries, etc., etc. If the members of this central trust decide that the government shall *buy* their railroad monopoly they can use their control of government to make sure that they get bonds enough for their monopoly, the interest on which will give them as great an unearned income as they enjoy from trust control and operation of railroads. And it will be a matter of indifference, both to them and other monopolists, whether the government pays the interest on the bonds from freight and passenger charges or operates the railroads free of charge and pays operating expenses and interest on the bonds from *taxes* levied against private monopoly interests. The monopoly revenue of the railroad trust would not be scattered amongst the monopolists of other industrial locations by government ownership. The railroads would then be controlled by a government representing the same group of monopolists as made up the central trust, who would enjoy as large an unearned income as ever—through interest on bonds, etc. And as this monopoly revenue would be taken from the monopoly operators in other industries, it would be immaterial to them, as a whole, whether they paid it in freight charges or as taxes.

This central trust in control of government, by taking under government ownership all industrial trusts as soon as they develop, will ultimately have absolute control of all productive industry. It will then be a monopoly government industrial trust. We will then have government ownership and operation in every industry, government officials in every department of production; but the controlling power will be the same monopoly forces as we have today. We will then have monopoly controlled government owning all industrial locations and directing all industry and exploiting the co-operating wealth producers—(by taxes to pay interest on bonds, salaries, etc.)—just as effectively as the workers are exploited today by the legal monopolists of industrial locations. This would be monopoly socialism and political slavery.

It is probable that the wealth-producing workers would receive some material benefits from this concentration of industrial management. There being no longer any competition between monopoly operators, or chance of gain to any class by discharging workers and reducing pro-

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duction, the monopoly management will find it to their interest to keep all the trust slaves fully employed. And as the productive power of the workers increases in proportion as they are well fed and intelligent, their wages will probably be enough to give them a fair degree of material comforts and to insure them against actual privation and want.

WHILE present day tendencies are nearly all in the direction of this monopoly socialism and political slavery, there is another force beginning to assert itself that may soon reach such proportions as to entirely change the direction of social evolution.

I refer to the effect on human relations of the growing public sentiment that coercive government is immoral; the growing belief amongst the governing class, who use coercive government to exploit their fellowmen, that they would be more in accord with the moral law and better satisfy the cravings of the human soul if they ceased from taking part in forcing their fellow-men into slavery. And as freedom is the natural, normal condition of men; as the natural tendency is for the products of labor to remain in the hands of the laborers; and as it takes active force to enslave men by depriving them of the fruits of their toil against their will; in proportion as individual monopolists cease to take part in the exploitation of labor and refrain from giving their support to coercive government, in like proportion will slavery disappear.

(To be continued)

Great men grate on us.

"Nevers" for Children

EDWARD L. TINKER, in *Leslie's*

Never cross the tracks by night or by day,
Without stopping to listen and look each way.
Never walk along the railroad ties—
You can't always trust your ears and eyes.
Never hop a freight, for nothing quite heals
The wound received under grinding wheels.
Never, on a hot or sunny day,
Sit beneath a box car to rest or play.
Never crawl under a car of freight,
When the crossing's blocked—play safe and wait.
Never board, or alight from, a train that is moving,
Accidents daily its dangers are proving.
Never play games 'round the tracks at the station—
There are much safer places to seek recreation.
Never leave on the rail any spikes or bars,
Because, in this way, you may wreck the cars.
Never a railroad bridge should you cross,
A train may come and result in your loss.
Never pick up coal 'round the railroad yard,
A train may catch you off your guard.

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The Circle of the Labor Movement*

By J. K. TURNER

Chapter XIII.

An Interesting Parallel.

THE study of the history of the labor movement impresses one with the singularity of the parallel of their trend—policies and methods. One is impressed in the study of history, as well as current events with the fact that society has always shown a wonderful sympathy and tolerance in any effort for the uplift of humanity, particularly alleviation from the drudgeries of life. Society, as represented in the various civilizations, past and present, has always been not only tolerant but has given sanction to these movements. To this fact can be attributed the growth, development, and advancement that has been made from time to time.

Again, we become impressed with the remarkable similarity with which all the gains and advancements that have been made through the efforts of the various unions have been lost, and their strength frittered away. The basis of all organizations, past and present, has been equality, fraternity, and brotherhood. Untold suffering and privation have been the lot of the pioneers in the movements at various times, and as the sympathies of the people were aroused and extended, these unions grew in power and influence. Yet in every instance we find the line of demarcation between growth and disintegration has always been the same. Up to a certain point brotherhood was accepted, and practiced, but with the growth of power there developed a co-existent growth of class consciousness and pride of accomplishment.

That labor organizations of the past were further advanced than has been generally conceded and understood has been proved in the discoveries made through the exhumations at Pompeii which show that the Roman Collegia or trades unions were engaged very energetically in political agitation.

These discoveries show that 450 years before Christ, the workers through their organizations developed powerful political parties which resulted in clashes between the trades unions and their opponents among the so-called citizens of the times.

In every instance there developed three classes of people as the result of the development of a privileged class,—to-wit: the citizen, the unionist, and the slave. The parallel today is in the capitalist, the unionist, and the non-unionist.

At one time so strong had become the political power of the unions, that for five years, Rome was in control of political unionists and the state's business was carried on without the senate. The senate had been ruled out by a strong majority of strictly organized unionists who voted for their own candidates as directors of the public works. They engaged in political agitation for the purpose of furnishing their unions with work direct from the government. The distinction drawn between the unionist and non-unionist of those days was emphasized in the ratio of wages, being three to one in favor of the unionist.

The majority of mankind was propertyless and had no means except their hands and brains from which to earn their livelihood. When they

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found themselves in power, they endeavored to make property common. Property of these times consisted of the ownership of slaves.

The development of slavery is traced back to the remote ages due to the operation of the law of entailment; primogeniture gave the first-born son the property and consigned the others to beggary and dishonor, making slavery the natural concomitant of the system.

Under competition, except where the unions were in control of the political machinery of the state, slavery worked to the disadvantage of free labor. The unions attempted to cope with this problem by the purchase of slaves and by the passage of a law which permitted these purchases in the name of the temple or the gods that they chose as their guardians or protectors.

The unions had selfishly monopolized all the skilled trades of the time, leaving the unskilled work to the slaves or non-members. They were sufficiently powerful to command the consent of the government, and enforce their services thereupon. They were all employed under the government in the manufacture on an enormous scale of implements of warfare, paid for their work directly from the paternal treasury, thus doing the great work of the armories for the Conquests.

The union's policy of secrecy of inventions and restriction to membership of those whom they considered eligible, resulted disastrously insofar as it separated the people, and when the question of the comfort of society and the superiority of civilization became sufficiently acute, labor's attitude and tactics caused their destruction.

In Gaul, there were, according to historians, before the Conquests, mowing and reaping machines. What became of them? Historians agree that in blotting out the organizations which comprised the skilled mechanics of the country, progress, invention and development of many valuable inventions, were lost, never to be recovered. Jealousy instigated by laws affecting one class of citizens—unions—against the other operated to the detriment of unionism.

Labor became so arrogant that the citizens organized solidly against them and succeeded in overthrowing their power and re-establishing the senate.

Thus, through the selfish tactics which crept into their organizations, was the skill and power of their organization turned upon them. The class feeling that had been engendered by their arrogance was turned into a means to subdue and destroy their powerful organizations.

When the Conquests broke forth, the majority of mankind was propertyless. Thus they were helpless before the representatives of the government with weapons of their own manufacture. The Roman Conquests destroyed the old freedom and reduced the unions to the level of the unskilled.

The plan of the politicians of the Roman states was to inflame the whole Roman nation in the direction of warfare against the outstanding states: Greece, Spain, Africa, Macedonia, Asia Minor and Sicily were thoroughly organized and their organizations were rapidly emancipating their slaves. A vast sympathy had been created by their brotherly love. They were strictly industrial. Their unions had become internationally and economically entwined. They manufactured and sold goods and had their agents working in every quarter. Their whole vast scheme was inculcating, equalizing, and democratizing.

The pressure of these powerful organizations from without was in

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no small measure resented by the important trades unions of the Roman empire.

By means of much excitement about impending war incursions to a neighboring state, the patricians worked over the leaders of unionism, whom they had been furnishing with abundance of government work, and accomplished their ends.

As fast as a kingdom was destroyed, those who were not killed were sold into slavery, their organizations broken up, and their wealth seized and taken to Rome.

Every strike in history beginning with the strike of the Jews under Moses against Pharaoh; the strike of the pyramid builders was successful at first, because their cause appealed to the justice of the people. As long as their leaders continued the policy of consideration of the rights of others, unionism thrived and grew, but in time their leaders began to feel their power and arrogate unto themselves and their following rights which they were not willing to concede to the others, and the decline of their power and ultimate destruction was assured.

The parallel of conditions of the labor unions of ancient Rome and the labor unions of the Twentieth Century is startlingly significant. Witness the effort to abolish the house of lords in England recently.

About the time of Christ, as a result of the terrific and disastrous struggles which terminated in the destruction of Spartacus, we find the laboring people disorganized, humbled, and broken in spirit.

All the advantages they had gained through centuries of struggles had been wrested from them and they felt their helpless condition all the more acutely because of their lost prestige.

The acceptance of the new leader with a new policy of non-resistance was slow at first because of the revolutionary ideas which underlay his policies of non-resistance.

Christ's education had been secured evidently in a country that was not involved in the terrible struggles for supremacy which had culminated so disastrously for labor.

The wonderful hold of Christ's teachings upon the world since His time has been due to the fact that common sense ruled His actions, His policies, and His conclusions.

He realized that selfishness was the basis of humanity. He realized that society was held together only through a common selfishness and that society recognized the spirit of selfishness in its co-ordinate branches was one of the prime causes for the growth of the organizations within society's circles.

Society recognized that selfishness was the basis of every class organization; yet as it developed, they smiled tolerantly upon it, as does the parent smile upon the growing spirit of selfishness and love of comfort and ease, and demand for special privilege on the part of the child, but when society found that the spirit of selfishness in any one branch of her component organization endangered society's comforts, and society's perpetuity, their acts were swift and sure for the survival of civilization depended upon society preventing any counter-organization from becoming too powerful and thus we find history replete with tales of her reprisals upon her children.

Christ's policy indicates that He recognized the fallacy of any idea which pre-supposed the possibility of an organization within society which could become sufficiently powerful to overthrow society, particularly when the constituent parts of the counter-organization must be

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drawn from society itself. Hence the wonderfully potent and lasting influence of His policy of non-resistance which is the basis of our present day Christianity.

At first the survivors of His time were dazed at the absolutely revolutionary principle of the policy of the Carpenter of Nazareth, but enfeebled as they were, lacking leaders, they were in no position to resist the oppressions of the Roman laws. This eventually forced them to accept hopefully the teachings of the "Messiah."

They had long looked for one to spring from their own ranks who "would lead them out of the wilderness." Hence we find a general acceptance of Christ as the Messiah.

Labor movements of all ages had a strong religious inclination, hence we find the teachings of the Messiah beginning to permeate the new movement and shortly it developed a strongly religious trend.

Its leaders were looked upon as prophets; the basis of their efforts were education in the broadest principles of brotherhood, rights of man, and equality of all men, one with the other. This gospel was preached openly for a time, until the Roman authorities, in a keen appreciation of their past experiences, realized the potentialities of the new movement. Then came a long history of the prosecutions and persecutions.

The leaders immediately following the Nazarene shrewdly attempted to take advantage of the superstitions of the Roman period and time. Thereby in a measure they safeguarded their temples and meeting places by dedicating them to the gods.

The term "god" was never used in ancient history to designate a supreme being. It was always a term used to designate the various titular deities of the Roman and Pagan people.

A study of sacred and profane history of the times develops a controversy between the historians as to the interpretation placed upon the various terms which are generally accepted as part of the scriptures of the day. It is now established beyond question of a doubt that most of the biblical characters of the time immediately following the Nazarene were labor leaders—Peter, Luke, James, Paul, Stephen, etc., were heads of the different trades organizations which survived the pre-Christian era.

The Last Supper itself is a proof of the perpetuation of the common table of the communal unions which were established under the laws of Solon and Numa, and which can be traced down through the ages following as the family or communal table, whereat all the various leaders met and discussed important topics of their time.

Another important proof of the once powerful influence of the unions upon society is extant today in the Catholic practice of the enforcement of the fish diet on Fridays. This law dates back centuries before Christ's time and was the result of the general decline of the fisherman's trade, about 300 B. C. So general had been the decline in the consumption of that important food product, which thousands of men were engaged in, that a law was passed through the power of the Fisherman's organization which enforced one day's fish diet per week, as an encouragement to the fishing industry of the times.

(To be continued)

Men become great thru little things.

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The Need of the Hour

By W. W. ATTERBURY

MR. W. W. ATTERBURY, Vice-President in Charge of Operation of the Pennsylvania Railroad, in an address before the combined commercial organizations of Philadelphia on the railroad situation, said in part:

"The American railroad is the greatest transportation achievement of the world because it grew up in an age when enterprise, initiative and energetic business ability had unrestricted opportunity for development. Unlike the railroads of Great Britain and other European countries, they preceded population and took the risks of pioneers in developing the country and settling it.

"I am not one who believes that railroad activities should now be unrestricted. I believe in regulation. Railroads have benefited in ways many of them little realize from regulation. Regulation is here to stay, and it is the duty of the railroad officer to co-operate in making that regulation a continued benefit not only to the country but to the community.

"Regulation has largely confined itself to correcting abuses. The evils were obvious, but we have allowed ourselves to think of them so much that we have forgotten about the transcendent merits of the institution as a whole. We have been devoting so much attention to killing the weeds in our transportation garden that we have neglected the very important duty of cultivating and strengthening the growth of the healthy and useful plants.

"The great transportation machine of this country was and is sound. It needs continued regulation, but the regulation must be competent and sympathetic. The most pronounced weakness of our present regulation is that so much of it is incompetent. Laws are lightly passed by legislatures without any real knowledge of what is involved. Action is taken by commissions who can have no full conception of the delicate mechanism they are handling, nor of how the public interests may be finally affected by their lack of experience and training.

"The supreme need in railroad regulation is competent regulators; but the appointment of men with such qualifications is not likely to be promoted under a political system where public office, for a short term of years, is almost wholly a reward for party fealty, nor can we look to the political parties themselves to improve matters. The business men of the country, whose welfare is so intimately interdependent with our transportation system, represent the class of citizens from whom the initiative should come in putting a new spirit into our system of regulation. We need scientific management in business, but we need also scientific management in regulation, or it must and will result in strangulation.

"No step, in my judgment, could be taken by the business men of the country which would be more fruitful of practical benefit to the business life of this nation than practical action to insure that when a man is appointed by either the Federal Government or a State, to regulate our railroads, he shall be qualified by experience and training to consider and pass upon, constructively and helpfully, the many important questions which will come before him.

"To be concrete, my suggestion is that a minority of the railroad commissioners of the states and nation should consist of men trained

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in the practical conduct of railroad affairs. I suggest that all appointments should be for life or during good behavior; that the salaries should be such as to attract the ablest brains in the country; and that these positions should be surrounded with such prestige and honor that any citizen would feel that he could serve his country and his fellow man in no more exalted capacity than in representing the people in promoting, encouraging and regulating the development of its transportation agencies.

"The country and its commerce cannot progress while the railroads are weak. I need offer little proof of that, after our business experiences of the past few years. Let me say, however, that the question of the welfare of the transportation interests is a personal matter with every citizen. The railroads pay annually, in round figures, $140,000,000 or more in taxes; they are the purchasers, under normal conditions, of one-third of all the steel, iron and lumber products of the country, and of many other extensive lines of supplies and material. They employ about 1,700,000 persons.

"Now is the most opportune time for you to make your influence felt when these great transportation systems are endeavoring to shake off depression and encourage business enterprise, and to forget the conditions of 1914."

War is a short cut to oblivion.

Progress(?)

FROM 1909 to 1913 national and state legislatures passed 62,014 laws, and during the same period there were 65,379 decisions by state and national courts of last resort on laws which filled 630 volumes. A large number of new laws created commissions and members to be appointed from among idle politicians and paid for by the taxpayer.

To let others think for you is a sign of vacancy.

Good Economy(?)

WATER navigation as a means of reducing cost of transporting freight is a good idea, but capitalizing the expenditures already made on the Missouri river at 4 per cent, the actual traffic between Kansas City and its mouth cost the government $88 a ton. A still more interesting showing is made on the Red river below Fulton. The cost to the government of the freight actually transported on this river amounts to $90 per ton or $1.53 per ton mile. The railroads charge something like two-thirds of a cent per ton mile.

A private individual is compelled to stand the loss if his ideas turn out bad, but the moment a man gets into office, he makes the taxpayer pay the costs of experimenting.

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A Symposium on "Our German Brother"

Editor,
THE MEDIATOR,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Sir:

I am much impressed with "Our German Brother," and I have made an effort to get the Germans in the neighborhood where I live interested, and I have yet to discover one who is not bitter against the government at Washington.

They claim that this is a one-sided neutrality. England has done as she pleases, holding up any ship no matter where going. Nothing was said when the ship "Wilhelmina" was held up. If a war was declared by this country against Germany, not 1% would enlist. The only way this government could secure enlistment would be by conscription.

This government is not neutral although it claims to be. England does as she pleases, uses our flag, and holds up food for non-combatants. This all happened before the Germans blockaded the Irish sea and Germans feel and know that they are not getting a square deal. So tense has this feeling become that they feel that every paper printed in England is against them as a unit. They will not listen to any argument, and say that the Germans must stick together. They care nothing for this government as this government cares nothing for them. They are fanatical on this subject and don't care who knows it.

I believe, however, that THE MEDIATOR, if printed in German, could do a good work. While I am strictly pro-German, I realize that this nation is in a precarious condition and we need more conservatism among the Germans, as well as among others here.

I would like to see THE MEDIATOR published in German.

Yours truly,
J. W. HARTMAN,
Chicago, Ill.

To the Editor,
THE MEDIATOR,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Sir:

Your article, "Our German Brother" was called to my attention. My reading is that it reflects chiefly on the intelligence of our countrymen in the diatribe on the American press. Other pro-Germans persist in the charge that the newspapers are unfair, the news distorted, and dominated by a flood of British calumny.

Returning not long ago from France and Belgium, I studied a voluminous scrapbook of war clippings taken broadcast from the muzzled and unfair American press. The bulk of its pages are filled with clever, far from convincing columns of argument, abuse, and facile generalization from the pens of skilled propagandists for Germany who are now crying hysterically that their side has not been fairly treated in the United States. When in history has the press or the people of a neutral country extended such hospitality to a foreign cause?

There are a few paragraphs of the Russian view, a few articles from French sources, some arguments from the pens of popular British authors, but the great preponderance of space has been given to German professors and the clever coterie in the United States that has so assidu-

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ously striven to mold public opinion here to the German standpoint. Many of these writers show such bias, exhibit so little logic, split hairs, and dodge issues in a manner that has undoubtedly done much to damage their own cause to a people who approached this war with open mind.

O. J. MITCHELL,
New York, N. Y.

Editor,
THE MEDIATOR,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Sir:

Your article "Our German Brother" appeals very much to me. It is so different from what the daily press emphasizes.

The newspapers seem to feel there is danger that many good Americans are losing their habitual poise in the conception they have of the real attitude of the German-Americans who have been active in espousing the cause of their Fatherland.

What has been the cause of the Germans in America espousing the cause of the Fatherland? Has it not been the attitude of the greater portion of our American press which was so willing to espouse the cause of the English in preference to Germany?

Had the American press heeded the neutrality proclamation of our president and given Germany a square deal, there would not have been any necessity for such publications as the "Fatherland."

The majority of our newspapers, especially at the beginning of this war, were so eager to espouse the cause of England that one reading them would come to the conclusion that we were still a British possession. They forget that America has a great many good loyal citizens who came from Germany as well as England.

No one needs question the loyalty of the German-American to America but I think it is about time for the American newspapers to remember that this war is between England and Germany and not between America and Germany.

I am subscribing for THE MEDIATOR and hope you will continue to fearlessly point out the truth, letting the people themselves judge instead of attempting to influence their judgment.

Yours truly,
H. A. HERRMAN,
Cleveland, O.

You cant make good for me.

Let Us all be Neutral

By J. K. TURNER

MUCH comment has come over our desk as a result of our article entitled "Our German Brother". It is remarkable to what extent the people of this country have been stirred up and divided on this question. Elsewhere we publish letters received from both sides. Space alone prohibits further exposition of the various views which reach us.

The Germans as a whole are a solid and stolid people. They are

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slow to anger and slow to forget an injury. And in this lies the significance of their attitude towards the entire English press of the country.

That they have a grievance against it is indisputable. Germany's attitude all the way through has been misconstrued deliberately in some instances, and through a lack of knowledge in most. The Germans are a peaceable, progressive, law-abiding people. They have attained the foremost rank in every pursuit and art. This points in unmistakable language to the fact that the German character is stable and dependable. They are not vacillating or easily turned one way or other, and this is what makes the attitude of mind developed in this country in the past six months all the more regrettable.

THE MEDIATOR understands the feelings of the German American who has received so much abuse and condemnation. Yet it cannot ignore the numerous instances of violations of American laws that have been traced home and admitted by German patriots, which would seem to explain if not justify the hysterical claims of our hysterical press.

Washington has during the present administration written two words into our national vocabulary—"watchful" and "waiting". These words typify patience, and patience has always been the victor against subtle diplomacy.

Persecution of a man or a race when met with counter-persecution has always resulted disastrously to both, but persecution met with patience and resignation has always resulted in a more thorough understanding and a vindication of those who were falsely persecuted.

In this country, more than any other, does the weather-vane of public opinion vacillate. This is due to the fact that we have among our people, races of every clime, and each section reflects through its public opinion the majority of characteristics of its population. Thus we have public opinion in various phases sweeping over this country, often in direct antithesis of each other.

A year ago in Texas, millions of people were alive with wrath and were clamoring for reprisals against Mexico for the acts of her outlaws, and so acute did this spirit become that there was serious danger of a revolt between the head of that state and the supreme authority at Washington. But the policy of "watchful waiting" in that instance justified itself.

THE MEDIATOR'S message to our German brothers this month is one of hopeful understanding for the immediate future. It desires to emphasize the fact that the term "hyphenated American" has disappeared almost entirely from the columns of our daily press within the last thirty days, and there is a growing spirit of a more friendly understanding of the German's attitude to his Fatherland and a recognition of the justice of the consuming interest that he takes in the events that are now aborning on his native soil.

This may be your opportunity. If you train yourself to that thought even though your effort for the nonce is not effective, it at least prepares you to grasp any and every chance that comes while you are looking for your opportunity and the diligent and persistent seeker always finds what he seeks.

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America's Duty

By NEWTON A. FUESSLE

THIS war represents a struggle to get. It is opening the eyes of the world, as they have never been opened before, to the truth that for all too many decades and centuries the world has striven to get, instead of to give. We have been educating our children and our nations as to how to get. Only by turning around and learning how to give can we make any abiding headway.

America, which stands on the side-lines of this welter of conflict, has in this hour the greatest opportunity it has ever experienced to see and know the value of teaching the world how to give. The tides of relief which are going from America to unfortunate Belgium are making this nation thrill with the new-found satisfaction of giving. Our gifts to Belgium are not prompted by any selfish or sordid hope that it will pay us to do so, in the cheap sense of the word.

We have fallen too deeply into the evil ways of charity. Charity is the giving of bits. Progress is made by the giving of all. America stands today on the threshold of an unparalled opportunity—the opportunity to give not its alms, but itself to the world. It can give itself to the world by developing its democracy to the highest and greatest point, and by teaching democracy, self-control, and fundamental justice to all the world.

When this war ends, its peoples, wrenched and racked with conflict, will pause in their ghastly tracks, and send up such a world-sob for democracy as has never been heard before. Their waves of immigration will wash the shores of America as never before. What are our cities going to do to teach these newcomers, who have been ground under the oppressions of empire, the meaning and practice of democracy which has lured them hither?

America's job, when this war shall have ended, will be to assimilate and make whole the bleeding remnants that grope their way to our ports. How can we do this if suspicion and injustice continue to flourish in our midst?

It is time to clean house. It is time for employer and employed to democratize the industries. It is time for mediation to bring our own warring interests to terms. The great minds which have built our industries into their present proportions must find and work out a way to give something to the world, instead of devoting themselves merely to getting what they can from the world.

Success is the most interesting thing in the world.

A Damage Suit with a Moral

ON JANUARY 1, 1913, one K. H. Hetherly, employed by the Standard Oil Company in the Midway Oil Fields, while working in a derrick, sustained an injury resulting in the total loss of three fingers of one of his hands. The Standard Oil Company cared for him, giving him for over two months the best available medical and hospital attention. In accordance with the invariable practice of the company in such cases, employment suitable to his crippled

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condition was then open to him at his former wages. He was also entitled to compensation for his injury at the rate fixed by the law. At that time the system of compensation for industrial injuries, which is now compulsory in this state, was elective, but as this company had voluntarily placed itself under the compensation laws, the injured employe was entitled to pecuniary indemnity at the statutory scale, regardless of fault or negligence on either his or the company's part.

Instead of taking these benefits which were open to him, he placed his case in the hands of lawyers, and elected to sue for $25,000 damages, on the theory that his injury was the result of the company's gross negligence. He probably believed that in such an action a jury verdict against the company would be almost an automatic result.

The trial occurred in Kern county in October last. The trial judge declined to grant a nonsuit, and held that the plaintiff was not bound to accept the indemnity of the industrial compensation laws. The case went to the jury, which, after some hours of deliberation, found a verdict for the company and allowed the plaintiff nothing.

Now, at the end of two years, the employe finds himself where he started. His right to compensation is barred by the statute of limitations. But of this the company would seek no advantage. Hetherly lost his fingers while in the company's employ, and he will be compensated by the company just as if he had never undertaken his misguided attempt to mulct it in damages. The company has from the inception of the system of industrial compensation in this state welcomed it as being founded on fair and equitable principles, to-wit: That each industry should care for its own injured, and that that care should be rendered swiftly and directly and without the intervention of the law's delays. In this case, by his refusal to join in the enforcement of the policy of the state towards injured employes, the employe has brought on himself loss of employment, years of waiting, and the expense and worry of protracted litigation. But the company, having won its contention before a jury, for the maintenance of the integrity of the compensation system, will now apply its benefits to the employe in question.

No good aiming high if you use blank cartridges.

The Secret of Success

By THOMAS DREIER

(Reprinted from *Metal Worker, Plumber and Steam Fitter.*)

THE SECRET of success is not a secret. Nor is it something new. Nor is it something hard to secure. To become more successful, become more efficient. Do the little things better. So work that you will require less supervision. The least supervision is needed by the person who makes the fewest mistakes. Do what you can do and what you should do for the institution for which you are working, and do it in the right way, and the size of your income will take care of itself. Let your aim ever be to better the work you are doing. But remember always that you cannot better the work you are doing without bettering yourself. The thoughts that you think, the

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words that you speak, and the deeds you perform are making you either better or worse. Realize with Henley that you are the master of your fate and the captain of your soul. You can be what you will be. Forget yourself in rendering service to others. If an employe, strive to make yourself of greater value to your employer. Look upon yourself as a manufacturer. Think of yourself as being in business for yourself. Regard yourself as a maker and seller of service, and ever bend your thought and your energies toward the improvement of your product. The wise manufacturer never injures his machinery wilfully. Your body, your mind, your soul serve as your plant. Eat and drink only that which will nourish your body, entertain only those thoughts that will enrich your mind, and if you feed your body with the best physical food and your mind with the best mental food you will build up a service Factory that will find its products in constant demand. The world is hungry for Quality Service. It wants to pay for it. It is paying for all it can get. The market is not crowded. There is a chance for you right now. There is a chance for you right where you are. The time to start is Now. Your reward will take care of itself.

If you don't want to go downhill, be on the level.

Ruskin on the Locomotive

THE following description of a locomotive from Ruskin's pen is a beautiful piece of word painting:

"I cannot express the amazed awe, the crushed humility, with which I sometimes watch a locomotive take its breath at a railroad station, and think what work there is in its bars and wheels, and what manner of men they must be who dig brown ironstone out of the ground and forge it into that! What assemblage of accurate and mighty faculties in them; more than fleshly power over melting crag and coiling fire, fettered, and finessed at last into the precision of watchmaking."

The egotist is more dangerous than the anarchist.

Youth

YOUTH is full of excesses, optimistic, impatient of restraint, plunging heedlessly, never counting the cost, acknowledging never the advice of the elder. This is the concomitant of youth, but it is only through the excesses of youth that the wisdom of age is possible.

Still during the consequent sufferings caused by over-indulgence or excessive enthusiasm, youth pauses and listens unconsciously to the wisdom of the ages.

Firmness therefore on the part of the elder is judicious only when the youthful exuberance of spirits has halted. Otherwise firmness breeds stubbornness. Stubbornness in youth breeds destruction. Often firmness consists in conciliation because it is easier to attract the interest by showing interest.

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THE NEED OF HIGHER RATES

HESTUS J. WADE, a banker of St. Louis, testified that owing to their poor earnings, Western railroads were unable to obtain money except on high rates of interest out of proportion to that asked from industrial corporations.

"To what do you attribute the financial depression from which the railroads are suffering?" asked Luther Walker, counsel for the opposing interests.

"I attribute it," said Mr. Wade, "largely to the attacks of State Railway Commissions in reducing the railroads' revenue, to onerous acts by State legislatures and to wild and extravagant charges against the railroads."

"If business conditions throughout the country are poor now, do you think it would hasten prosperity to tax the shippers?"

"It would help hasten prosperity to restore the credit of the railroads. Many shippers who are now suffering from business depression would be glad to pay higher rates to improve business."

"Don't you think it is rather mismanagement and the selling of blue sky and water that has hurt the roads more than State Commissions?" asked Everett Jennings, counsel for the Illinois Public Utilities Commission.

"It's just such wild statements as you have made that have hurt their credit," replied Mr. Wade.

Asserting he had much experience with the credits of Southwest roads, Mr. Wade said that the roads' ability to obtain money on bonds in recent years was steadily decreasing, that "while the country was flooded with money," the public had grown reluctant to buy securities and that only roads in exceptionally good standing could obtain funds at normal rates.

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Benjamin F. Bush, President of the Missouri Pacific, said, "We believe that the bad economic conditions which have prevailed for the last sixteen months, with the attendant depression of general business, have been due more to the failure of the railroads to earn adequate revenues than to any other cause. The situation may have been made more acute by the European war, but business depression was upon us with full force prior to that.

"When the railroads are prosperous they consume from 40 to 50 per cent. of the basic industrial factors and thus initiate a movement in business which quickly pervades all industries and trades. When their revenues are inadequate they are obliged in self-preservation to retrench.

"Nine industries in St. Louis dependent on railroads have been obliged to curtail their forces some 10,000 men, and their payrolls on that account are $588,000 less a month than in times of normal business. The loss in wages of employes of those nine St. Louis industries would aggregate $7,000,000 a year.

"The time has come when it is most vital, not only to the carriers' interest but to the industrial and commercial welfare of the country, that the desired advances should be allowed."

The New York Times, commenting on this condition, says:

"It is easy to see who is suffering through poor earnings. A large number of employes have lost their jobs in order that their wages may go into the funds which the railways must save, if they are not allowed to earn them. A great many railway supply companies have lost their orders and are omitting or reducing their dividends in order that they may contribute to the funds lacking from the railways' resources. The railways are skimping their upkeep so far as they can, and are either living on their fat or are simply starving, with a consequent reduction in their power of serving either the public or the owners of the undertakings. All the coal, lumber, steel, and related industries are depressed by the present manner of finding the funds which the railways must have if they are to keep their wheels turning at all. That is the result of compelling 'the railways' to do what, after all, is done poorly, and at the expense of others than the railways. All that the railways make or lose they pass along to others, either in profits to owners or in taxes, wages, and payment of supply bills. It is not in the range of possibility that 'the railways' shall be commanded to do anything with their own resources, and without reflection of the consequences throughout a great industrial and financial area, whose depressed condition is now matter of general knowledge."

Failures are necessary to success.

An Appeal to the People

THIRTEEN Eastern railways publicly announce a combination against full-crew laws. Fourteen Western railways presented to the Governor of Illinois a petition for the repeal of the two-cent fare law. In Oregon the farmers are leading in a protest against the full-crew law. In Missouri 112 members of the legislature have presented petitions signed by constituents urging an increase in passenger rates to 2½ cents a mile.

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Through all these and many other signs of the new temper regarding the railways run two characteristics—first, the legislatures are untrue representatives of the people; and, second, because of tardy appreciation of the fact that the interests of the railways and the interests of the people are one.

In New York the full-crew law was the work of a discredited administration, false to its trust in this and other respects. The appeal from the legislatures of Pennsylvania and New Jersey propose to "submit the question directly to the public, that the people may determine what is just, right and fair." There was a time when the railways would not have dared to do such a thing. The railways have bowed to the laws, have repented their misdeeds and now feel that they have a standing to appeal both from persistence in misjudgment and from persecution in the name of reform.

There is pending a Federal full-crew law, and a "long-train" law in New York State, which would tend to make two trains do the work of one, and multiply crews accordingly. The present campaign ought to have come before the existing laws were passed, but it comes with added force through the demonstration that the railways are fined to the disadvantage of their patrons under the pretense of "safety first." The true inspiration of such laws is the extortion of money from the railways on whatever pretext. Will the legislatures dare to defend what they dared to pass?

No business is bigger than the man who runs it.

The Wage Question

IN view of the extended hearing before the board of arbitration in Chicago on the question of an increase in wages, the following comparisons are interesting:

In 1911, German railroads employed 716,678 workers, operating 37,195 miles of line, at an average wage per employe per year of $392.33.

In England the railways employed 608,750 workers to 23,417 miles of line; wages per employe per year, $270.70.

France employed 456,657 on 25,100 miles of line; wages per employe per year, $208.63.

In Switzerland there were 149,329 employed, operating 8,258 miles of line, at a wage of $315.36 per year per employe.

In the United States, in 1911, there were 1,702,824 employes, operating 248,034 miles of line; average wages per employe, per year, $722.

When business dies, nations perish.

Some day we will have better understandings between the railroads and the public, between the railroads and the commission and between the commission and the public. When that day comes, it will be generally realized that much apprehension was based entirely on misunderstandings or on lack of understandings as to facts, intentions, inclinations and policies. We desire to do a constructive, not a destructive work. We hope to help in bringing about these better understandings.

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Demands of Labor

"WHAT is the problem that this company has to face? What is your chief apprehension as to the future?" Daniel Willard was asked.

"As I view the matter," replied Mr. Willard, "the most serious problem now confronting the railroads is the demand—present and prospective—of labor. The two decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission in the eastern rate case may be said, when taken as a whole, to comprise a bill of rights for the railroads in so far as the relations between the railroad and the public are concerned, and I for one believe that if the principles recognized and outlined in the decisions above referred to are fairly carried out the future of the railroads from that point of view is more encouraging than it has been in many years past.

"Unfortunately, the same cannot be said with reference to the labor question. The arbitrators who in 1912 passed upon the demands of the locomotive engineers employed by the eastern railroads said that owing to the fact that a railroad was a semi-public institution the employes become by virtue of that fact semi-public servants, and as such it was the duty of the public to see, first of all, that they were fairly paid and properly treated; but also by virtue of that same fact railway employes were under certain obligations to the public which must be recognized; that their service was affected by a public use.

"Unfortunately, railway employes, while willing to avail themselves of the privileges that they are rightfully entitled to as semi-public servants, have seemed to forget at times the obligations which they owe to the same public, because when strikes have been threatened or actually brought about the public is always the chief sufferer. In the past the public generally, not recognizing the relationship which must exist between railroad rates and railroad expenditures, has to a large extent occupied the position of an indifferent observer when wage controversies between railroads and their employes were going on.

"Now that it is more clearly recognized that in the end the public, by means of freight charges and passenger rates, must pay all the costs of railroad operation, including wages, it is to be hoped that the same public will take a keener and more intelligent interest in this matter, because in the end such questions under the existing order of things will usually be settled by arbitration, and arbitration generally reflects to a very large extent the existing public opinion. I repeat, this question of the demands of organized labor is the thing that gives ground for most apprehension as to the future."

Competition is the desire to excel.

Political Reformers

POLITICAL prophets and prosperity producers have failed to produce prosperity. Railways and industrials alike have failed to earn their dividends, thus proving that dividends depend upon service rendered alone.

This can be interpreted as a sign of a failure of a campaign against

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large interests based upon wrong ideas, and it has become self evident that the promises of benefits to follow the evils attributed to big business cannot be redeemed.

Wages have fallen, not risen. Prices have not been reduced. If the regulation of industrials by voluntary combination fail as completely as has the ever downward regulation of railway rates, the results will be still lower wages and idle industries.

The voters at the last election showed they had changed their minds about the practical benefits of the theoretical correction of imaginary evils. They found out that they under-estimated the proportion of good to evil and that the experiment of entrusting practical affairs to reformers who neither hold responsibility for failure nor experience backed by success, has resulted disastrously.

It is but fair to say that the reformers have done some good as well as evil. Capital has been taught moderation and morality, but labor has not yet been taught. There are current heresies of benevolence as rank and harmful as ever attributed to "get rich quick" practitioners upon the credulity of the people.

Something for nothing cannot be gotten, nor given, to wage earners any more than others. There are limitations to philosophy by law as well as fortunes by sleight of hand.

The era of the wise and prudent is at hand. After the delirium of dreamers of wealth and givers of blessings with other people's taxes, these ought to be self evident truths and painful demonstration should not be necessary.

The future has greater capacities for moral and financial accomplishment than has yet been realized, but this can only be brought about in a practical manner by practical men.

The successful man leaves nothing to luck or chance.

Big Men for Big Tasks

EFFECTIVE co-operation is possible only when absolute authority rests in one head.

What might be called the civilian administration of the French army is probably the most gigantic business proposition the world has ever seen. It is as though all the railways of the United States with their 1,668,809 employes, all the steel and iron industries with their 260,762 employes, and all the quarries, coal mines and metal mines of the United States with their 1,005,281 workers, were all under the direction of one office, and besides these, over a million more employed in a half hundred other of the great corporations in America.

The French war office, through its civilian administration, must assemble, transport, and distribute food for nearly 4,000,000 men. It must supply the men with transportation from one part of the fighting line to another, from the front to the interior and from the interior to the front, in their periods of recuperation. It must provide clothing, medical attendance, dentists, and every variety of service necessary to keep a man in health.

Besides all this, it must look out for the families of the men at the front, supplying their wives with the equivalent of twenty-five cents a

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day, and in case of children with the equivalent of ten cents a day.

The smooth working of these immense business transactions is only possible because the work is distributed among the trained railway managers, steamship directors, great corporation officials, and business men of capacity, who although they are wearing uniforms, have been trained and prepared by civil life for this sort of work in war time. Some thousands of the most competent business men of France have been organized into this supply side of the war.

Many political leaders, senators, deputies, and men prominent in scientific and intellectual life have been called upon to help in this gigantic work.

No business can support a loafer.

Incoming Brake Test

TO maintain freight brakes efficiently and economically with the minimum delay to trains demands that any defective brakes in same be found *on arrival,* instead of just before the outgoing train should depart. This requires the incoming brake test, made as follows:

On stopping train where it is to be left, engineman should at once add to whatever brake pipe reduction was required for the stop enough to make a total reduction of 25 pounds. Brakeman should not close angle cocks until engineman signals (one blast of whistle) that application is completed. Inspectors should be present at this time and *at once proceed to inspect train quickly for brake defects only,* indicating same by suitable chalk marks on cars. This inspection should be finished within ten or twelve minutes from time application is completed so as to avoid rendering it unduly severe as regards brake cylinder leakage. On completion they should then make any needed repairs promptly or mark for repair tracks any cars that cannot be otherwise repaired.—*B. & O. Mag.*

Too much discipline is no discipline.

A Government Job

IN the laying of the brick floor of the completed portion of the quay wall at the Balboa terminals, of the Panama Canal, a squad of five West Indian masons, serving in relays, three men working at the same time, with two resting in the reserve, laid in one day of ten working hours, a total of 96,000 brick, says the Canal Record. The entire gang, including the white foreman, Park T. Andrew, and the men engaged in handling the bricks from the cars, mixing and carrying mortar, etc., consisted of sixty-seven men. The masons laid the paving between the inner rail of the track along the face of the wharf and the inner coping, a width of fifty feet, over a distance of 400 feet, covering an area of approximately 20,000 square feet. Counting five men in the squad, each laid at the rate of 1,920 bricks per hour, or thirty-two per minute; three men being actually at work, the bricks were laid at the rate of 3,200 per man per hour, or 53.33 by each man each minute. The masons were paid 13 cents per hour.—*Machinists Journal.*

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Our Duty as Union Men

ONE of the loads under which ours and other organizations are constantly struggling is that of indifference on the part of the members. How often we see local lodges holding meetings with only a sufficient number of brothers present to constitute a quorum. This condition prevails not only in small locals, but oftentimes in locals which have a membership of several hundred. Some locals have gone so far as to place a fine on members who do not attend their meetings once every so often. This is a very sad condition of affairs. If there is one place which the union man ought to visit once or twice a month, it is his union, because his union means everything to him.

It is through the union he secures shorter hours. It is through his union that he secures higher wages. It is through his union that he secures better sanitary conditions. It is chiefly through his union that he secures legislation favorable to labor. It is through his union that the children are enabled to keep out of the factory and in the school. In fact, it is through the union that the laboring man's whole standard of life has been raised.

Is not such an institution worth fighting for? In consideration of the fact that the union is doing all these things for us, is it not our duty to attend the meetings of our local regularly instead of allowing a few to conduct the business of our organization? The Brotherhood is a democratic institution in that it allows every man to have a voice in conducting its affairs, but how can we be active members unless we attend the meetings regularly?

We must get over the habit of just paying our dues alone. We must attend the conference of our fellows. We need all the energy and brains in our lodge to overcome obstacles and these can best be obliterated by active participation in labor's cause, the purchasing of nothing that does not bear the union label, the bearing of our share of the burden and our general co-operation to the end of fully emancipating all those who live by the sweat of their brow.

The man who attends a meeting once a year and who pays his dues only upon threat of suspension, is not worthy the name of "union man." —*Railway Carmen's Journal.*

There are methods of action which are always so similar that they constitute an institution and are known by a name.

If one of those methods of action or institutions, whenever used, results in breaches of the peace and often results in murder, arson, and robbery, would you not consider that such an institution was bad or was being used in a bad way?

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The Rights of Man

No man has any rights that do not belong to every other man.

All wars and bloodshed have been caused by the lack of acknowledging this truth.

Again, no man can ever secure and rest secure in any right which he prevents or attempts to prevent others from enjoying equally with himself.

Sectionalism and government are built up by falsely arrogating rights for those who are set apart by these imaginary lines and the very act sets men apart from each other, who really should be a part of each other.

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The Mediator

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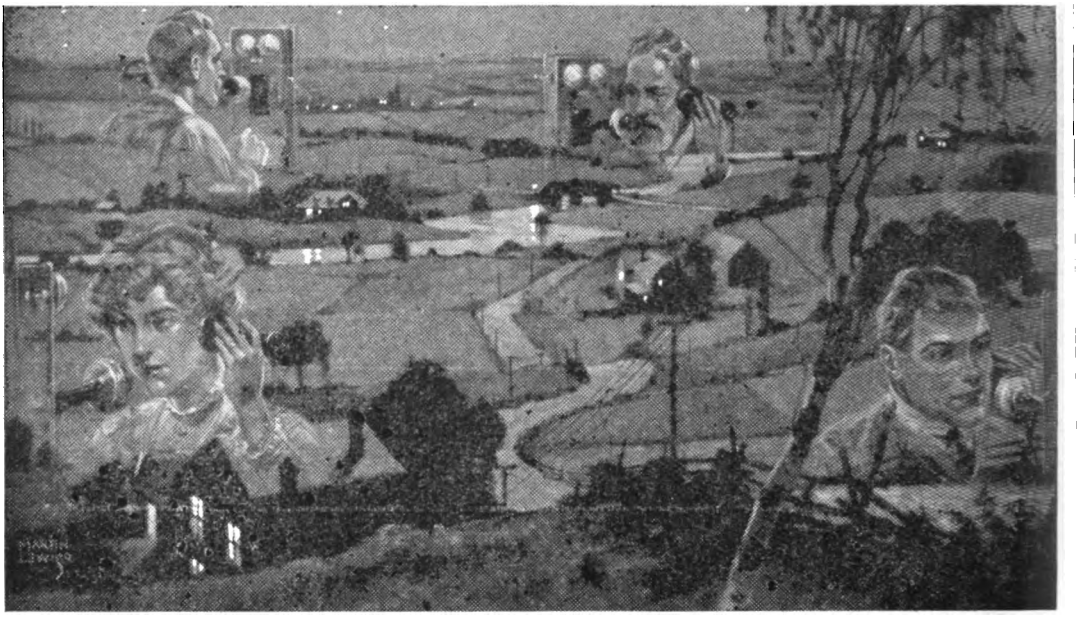

Neighborizing the Farmer

One of the most significant facts of our telephone progress is that one-fourth of the 9,000,000 telephones in the Bell System are rural.

In the days when the telephone was merely a "city convenience," the farms of the country were so many separated units, far removed from the centers of population, and isolated by distance and lack of facilities for communication.

But, as the telephone reached out beyond cities and towns, it completely transformed farm life. It created new rural neighborhoods here, there and everywhere.

Stretching to the farthest corners of the states, it brought the remotest villages and isolated places into direct contact with the larger communities.

Today, the American farmer enjoys the same facilities for instant, direct communication as the city dweller. Though distances between farms are reckoned in miles as the crow flies, the telephone brings every one as close as next door. Though it be half a day's journey to the village, the farmer is but a telephone call away.

Aside from its neighborhood value, the telephone keeps the farmer in touch with the city and abreast of the times.

The Bell System has always recognized rural telephone development as an essential factor of Universal Service. It has co-operated with the farmer to achieve this aim.

The result is that the Bell System reaches more places than there are post offices and includes as many rural telephones as there are telephones of all kinds in Great Britain, France and Germany combined.

AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY
AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES

One Policy *One System* *Universal Service*

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THE MEDIATOR

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When Business Dies—Nations Perish

By J. K. TURNER

THERE is a growing recognition of the fact that the business of this nation will never be upon a firm and substantial basis as long as it is conducted on the success of the individual business alone.

For years past, business baiting has been extremely popular, and this has resulted from the activities of organized effort to secure more by force than their ability and merit would entitle them to under the law of business, which is competitive co-operation.

All of the harassing tactics of the innumerable laws and commissions are the result of activity of mediocrity, but mediocrity, organized. has proven to be more effective in directing and shaping the trend of our governmental activities, than ability.

With the establishment of the Interstate Commerce law, about a quarter of a century ago, began the era of restricted business legislation. The various acts creating bureaus and commissions culminated in the federal trades commission and the Clayton anti-trust act, telling the story of a gradual but persistent extension of the functions of the national government, until today the shadow of federal power falls across the path of every legitimate business enterprise in which formerly business freedom had comparatively full play.

Today the business man finds that what he needs more than anything else is simply *the opportunity to attend to his business.* His time is divided between preparing the multiplying corporation reports, required by Congress and the various states in which he is doing business, while government agents and state prosecuting attorneys are busily investigating him to ascertain if perchance some innocent error or neglect may not subject him to a heavy penalty.

When not thus engaged, he is fighting strikes and boycotts or the walking delegate for the primal liberty of contract with his employes, endeavoring to adjust his pay roll to the requirements of some minimum wage law. Else he is defending a suit in court to dissolve his business or consulting a lawyer to find out what he must not do to remain out of penitentiary. During the few remaining moments of his time, he may be able to get a little sleep, but hardly an opportunity to give attention to the real demands of his business.

Why this condition? Is it not because the business man has been too busy with his business and too selfishly absorbed in his own immediate success to understand the subtle movements progressing around him? Instead of recognizing the trend of the times and investigating the type of men who are being sent to represent him in legislative bodies, he has delegated, or through negligence permitted, organized mediocrity to assume control.

In 1912 organized labor presented its demands at the conventions of both parties, offering its support to the party that would obey its behests which were predicated upon the selfish interests of their constituency.

At Congress, and in the legislatures of the 48 states, the unions main-

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tain a constant lobby which is persistent and insistent in its activities. They are not only present at the hearings before committees as accredited agents of organizations, but they exercise subtle powerful influence upon all legislators by threats and the exercise of influence in the legislators' districts. In fact all interests except business, the most important, are fully represented.

Every one knows that union labor, as now organized, could not in any industry which it today dominates, secure for its members the returns which they now enjoy.

Harry J. Cantwell, in commenting upon this condition in the April "American Justice" says:

"The great majority of the people of the United States believe in the much denounced 'capitalistic system' of production. All rights to property in the United States rests upon the acquiescence of the majority in such rights and to the belief of the said majority that said 'capitalistic system' more conduces to the common good.

"If this were not so, with the persistent activities of the insistent minority and the apathy of the majority, all rights of the property would long ago have been swept away and the commune would ere this have been instituted in America."

The president of this nation, in an address on January 29th, is quoted as stating:

"There is a new atmosphere, for the mists and miasmic airs of suspicion that have filled the business world have now blown away—you are not going to be penalized because you are big and strong."

Is this not an admission that the policies of the government, national and state, were wrong? And does not the personnel of the various commissions regulating business with inquisitorial powers equal to the Russian Bureaucracy prove beyond a question of doubt the influence of organized mediocrity?

Japan startled the civilized world by overwhelming and crushing powerful Russia, which was but a demonstration of the effectiveness of organization against the disorganized masses.

In Seattle last year, a prominent business man accepted the nomination for a minor position in the state, providing that similar organizations in other cities in the state would nominate business men for political office.

In Chicago, on March 23rd, the Illinois Manufacturers' Association held a protest meeting. The following is quoted from the call for the meeting:

"Of over 500 bills introduced in the state Senate in the last three weeks, almost 50% deal with regulation of business of manufacturers, merchants, and corporations. Business cannot stand another onslaught by law-makers. Profits have been legislated out of existence and thousands of men out of employment."

This is significant and it is the first attempt of the business man to interest himself in the shaping of political affairs of the community, state, and nation, and should encourage similar actions in other portions of the country.

If the business man uses the intelligence which makes possible his success as a business man, applying it to the conditions of which he complains so much, he will recognize that it is as essential to send represen-

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tatives to political conventions and political offices as it is to send representatives to solicit favors of the trade.

There will be no cure for this condition, that will re-establish confidence in business and a resulting solidity in our business structure, until business men show equal activity in the political field with the demagogue, and others, who are responsible for this flood of hysterical censure which has checked our prosperity.

"The net result of the labor of legislative bodies is always below the intelligence of the least intelligent member." ***Herbert Spencer.***

Business Men for Political Office.

By Hon. Charles Nagel

Ex-Secretary of Commerce and Labor

THE strain under which industries unquestionably labor—too often the result of haphazard or only threatened legislation—has suggested the not unnatural and perhaps timely idea that business men themselves take a hand in the framing and in the enforcement of our laws.

The idea has many considerations to recommend it. The varied interests of our country are so intimately related that any system which does not enjoy the active co-operation of the business man is almost certain to be ill-balanced. Furthermore, the problems of our day are less and less political, and are becoming more and more industrial and social in character. It must stand to reason therefore that the advice and the service of business men are essential to complete success.

Closer inquiry may, however, bring some surprise. There are probably more men in public service now, who are not to be classed as belonging to the professions, than is generally assumed. An inspection of the lists of Senators and Congressmen would no doubt disclose this. It would prove also that some rather prominent members of Congress are not members of any profession. In the State legislature this is true to an even greater degree, although here the former generally has the advantage of the business man. If it is nevertheless true that more especially the lawyers enjoy a disproportionate prominence in our country's legislative halls this must be attributed to the circumstances that their profession is undeniably most closely and most naturally related to the activities of government. Notwithstanding this fact, it remains true that commerce and industry should participate more directly in the making of rules and laws upon whose successful operation business so immediately depends. This was done in earlier days, and there is additional reason for doing it now.

But to pursue the inquiry as to the degree in which business men now participate. Superficial observation would seem to show that in city government—which peculiarly presents business problems—business men are very strongly represented. Certainly lawyers do not predominate. Doctors might well appear in greater number to the advantage of the service. Even editors might seek the opportunity to try out some of their counsels in actual practice. It is said that the most influential

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members of the Council that paved the way to make Budapest one of the most beautiful cities in the world, were editors. There is no substantial doubt that the excellent government in German cities must be attributed very largely to the active service of medical men in the councils.

In any event the business man and the banker has had each his fair share of opportunity and responsibility in American cities. Has he met the situation? Here and there he has. Competent men have served in spots—usually by way of protest. The practice however is the other way. The man of affairs has been especially slow to devote time which to him appears too valuable to bestow upon a general cause. It is the old conflict of special interest and general welfare. The old story of men who still believe that they can continue to flourish, when all around them affairs are neglected.

This presents the real test of the suggestion. To satisfactorily hold and fill office two things are necessary which, it is to be feared, some of the advocates of the new movements do not bear in mind. First, there is needed a certain training; or if not that at least a degree of familiarity with existing laws. This can not be perfunctorily acquired. Sustained interest is the essential foundation of the necessary information. Beyond that lies the election to office. For illustration, what percentage of merchants in our large cities could today command the support of their own clerical force? Gompers can swing his following, or can at least make politicians believe that he can. But the spirit of co-operation between the merchant and his own employes is in many cases not sufficiently close to guarantee similar support. Often enough employes enjoy the discomforts of their chiefs because they have not learned to read their success in his. The removal of this barrier is the first step.

Then comes the appeal to the general public. It is one thing to make one campaign which presents a particular issue. It is quite a different thing to hold confidence after fair trial in office. Let him who has conferred his patronizing smile upon men engaged in so-called campaigning sample it himself. He may have occasion to recall the campaign speaker who related his many years' experience. For five years no newspaper noticed him; and he felt aggrieved because he did not suspect his good luck. Then for five years he was criticized unmercifully; and still he felt aggrieved although he was really on the road to fortune. Then came the years of spasmodic favorable notice. Popular approval and support are not easy to win, much less easy to hold, and least easy to deserve. This is precisely the ordeal to which the experienced and successful business man has been least willing to subject himself. And this in turn is one of the chief reasons why so many of the laws which others have prepared for him are so little calculated to meet his wants.

The successful man is the one who has tried, and not cried.

That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence it is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him labor diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built.—*Address to the Workingmen's Association of New York by Abraham Lincoln in 1864.*

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Social Tendencies—Part iv.

By W. T. Bethune

THE STATE

IN the last two numbers, we called attention to the growing demand for State Paternalism amongst wage earners and self employing workers, and also to the tendency towards Monopoly Socialism amongst monopolists.

In order that we may be able to get a better understanding of some social tendencies that I hope to discuss in the future, I propose, in this number, to inquire as to the nature and function of the State.

Workers, capitalists, monopolists and every other class look upon the State as the legitimate guardian of their material welfare, as the authorized agent of a superior intelligence controlling the destinies of men as social units and curbing anti-social forces that, if given free play, would disrupt society.

But more especially, in public opinion, is the welfare of "Society" under the particular guardianship of the State. In cases when the State considers that the interests of the individual and of "Society" are in conflict, then, in popular opinion, it is the duty of the State to sacrifice individual interests for the well-being of "Society." And when the minorities object to being sacrificed for the good of "Society," on the the ground that they too are a part of the social body, our authoritative sociologists quote to them the "scientific" dogma that society is made up of individuals with conflicting interests, organized for mutual benefit on the basis of the "greatest good to the greatest number," and they are met with the knock-down argument that the majority has the might, and will force the minority to conform to their will.

Though forced to conform, the minority cannot subscribe to this doctrine. They at once protest in the name of Justice. They appeal to the feeling, deep rooted in the human consciousness, that at bottom there is no conflict between human interests; that we are interdependent parts of a social organism; that a social order is possible in which every individual is needed, each to play a part that he alone can do completely, in order to maintain perfect balance, perfect equilibrium—justice in the social body.

It is because of this deep-rooted social feeling that our "scientific" sociologists have been forced to reconcile their "greatest good to the greatest number" dogma with social justice by assuming that majority rule is as near to justice as we can possibly come in the present stage of man's evolutionary development. They assume that perfect harmony, in the social body, is only possible in the distant future—after man, through the slow process of evolution, has acquired new powers and attributes different from what he has today.

Then, according to popular belief, the State is the agent of a superior intelligence resident in "Society;" the vote of a majority of individuals, as expressed through the ballot-box, is the voice of "Society" instructing its agent; and it is our duty to obey its mandates, for by so doing, we will attain, as near as it is possible for us, to the justice we all desire. All our social activities are dominated by and directed in accordance with this conception of the nature and function of the State. In all our group relations we appeal to majority vote as the highest expression of social justice.

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The State, as the recognized agent of "Society," makes known and enforces the will of this superior intelligence through the actions of its physical body, and the actions of this body we call government. In popular opinion, this physical body is an organization of men who are responsive to the will of "Society," men who are built up into this governmental body and the body directed and controlled in its actions in accordance with the will of this superior intelligence, as expressed through the ballot-box. In popular thought, this combination of physical body and the intelligence of "Society" is what constitutes the State.

I present the above outline of what I conceive to be the popular conception of the nature and function of the state, in order to focus the attention of my readers on two points. First: That, with us, popular reverence for the State as an institution, rests upon the belief that this institution is the sacred agent of a superior intelligence we call "Society." And second: that voluntary obedience to the edicts issuing from the State springs from a belief that the voice of the majority, expressed through the ballot-box, is the voice of "Society" and the highest expression of social justice possible for us to attain.

I now propose to inquire as to the soundness of these beliefs.

Our starting point is "Society."

What is "Society"? What is this popularly accepted source of an intelligence distinct from, and superior to, that of man; an intelligence that through its agent, the State, directs the social activities of the inhabitants of a given territory and restrains anti-social forces that, if given free play, would disrupt the social body?

It is very evident that the term "Society," when used in this sense, cannot simply be a group term for all the individuals occupying a certain territory. For if the social order decreed by the State was the will of every individual, there would be no objectors—no conflicting social plans, each having its group of supporters, such as exist today in the social body.

Nor can "Society" mean the group of voters who are in the majority when a vote is taken on political questions. The majority and the minority factions all agree in asserting that the peculiar ceremonial functions that the State insists must be performed by certain individuals called voters—secret marking, in certain ways, of pieces of paper called ballots, putting these ballots in certain boxes during specified hours of a particular day, counting the ballots by certain persons, etc., etc.—constitute the process necessary for us to go through in order that the State may be able to consult the ballot-box oracle through which "Society" communicates its wishes to its agent.

Then, again, our reason cannot be satisfied with the position held by "scientific" sociologists who assert that "Society" is the whole body of the people when considered as the source of social intelligence, as distinguished from the whole body of the people when considered as the source of anti-social intelligence. In support of this position they advance the following as proof: The social body is built up of individuals with conflicting interests. Not only conflicting as between individuals, but conflicting in the individual. These interests are grouped under two heads—social and anti-social—and are represented by two corresponding intelligences. These conflicting intelligences, while present in every person, are in different proportions in each individual. In some men the

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social intelligence greatly overshadows the anti-social; in others the anti-social intelligence is supreme, with countless grades between. The actions of individuals are directed and controlled by the intelligence that exists in them in greatest volume. And the sum total of social intelligence is greater than the sum total of anti-social—as proved by the fact that a social body exists and is in process of development.

According to this school, the religio-mechanical actions performed by certain persons called voters, is a process by which we separate the two intelligences from the individuals and concentrate each intelligence in a separate group—the predominating social intelligence becoming embodied in the majority group and the anti-social in the minority. The governing body, when controlled by the majority, is the agent through which this social intelligence is applied in combating the anti-social, and in forwarding the development of the social body. And as the whole body of the people is the source of social intelligence, then the governing body is their agent, and "Society" means all the people when considered as the source of this human intelligence. On the other hand, the whole body of the people is also the source of the anti-social intelligence resident in the minority group of voters. And with the minority in control of the governing body, and using it as a means of suppressing the social intelligence, the governing body would then be the agent of all the people when considered as the source of anti-social intelligence, and not the agent of "Society."

The validity of all this evidence, as proof that "Society" is the whole body of the people when considered as the source of social intelligence, as opposed to the whole body of the people considered as the source of another intelligence called anti-social, rests on the assumption that these two intelligences, existing in different proportions in each individual, are, through the ballot-box process, separated from the individual and each intelligence concentrated in a distinct group of individuals; or at least so far separated from the individual and concentrated in distinct groups, as to make the social intelligence supreme in the majority group, and the anti-social supreme in the minority.

The only possible proof we can have of the separation of these intelligences from the individual and of their concentration in distinct groups, is in the political actions of the groups in which they are supposed to be embodied. But first we must know what political actions are social and what are anti-social. And further than this, before we can accept it as proved that social intelligence always directs the actions of the majority and that anti-social intelligence directs the minority, as voting groups, the political action of the majority must always be social and of the minority anti-social. If the position held by our "scientific" sociologists is sound, then a political action indorsed by one majority vote as a social action must never conflict with other political actions indorsed by another majority vote. To be consistent, the majority vote must never repudiate what it has once indorsed. For, according to this school, the majority group, as a voting body, always gives expression to the social intelligence of all the people, and does so irrespective of any change in the personnel of the group.

What are the facts? What political actions are social actions and what are anti-social? Or, to quote the popular dogma, what political actions would, or would not, result in "the greatest good to the greatest number?"

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It is a patent fact that there is no near approach to unanimous agreement as to this, not even in the case of a single political action indorsed at the polls by a majority vote. Nor is there permanent agreement amongst majorities. For it is often the case that what one majority vote indorses, the next majority group repudiates—the vote changing with changes in the personnel of the voting group. It is also a fact of common knowledge that political actions indorsed by majority vote have, almost invariably, been previously indorsed by a minority vote.

Therefore, from the above facts, it must follow that passing through the ballot-box process does not separate, in whole or in part, the social and anti-social intelligences from individuals, nor does it in any way concentrate these intelligences in distinct groups.

With this the position of the "scientific" sociologists becomes untenable, and we are still without a complete answer to the question, "What is 'Society'?"

(To be continued)

Success is always due more to the ability to stand the bumps than anything else.

Prosperity's Circle.

By Theo. N. Vail

THE wealth of the country does not consist of tangible tokens of value that can be realized upon at will. It largely consists of property or certificates representing property which have been created by investment of the savings of the people of enterprises and utilities. The returns from, and the intrinsic value of these enterprises, depends upon activity caused by the demand for the production or service produced by employment of the workers. Without that activity, employment ceases, returns disappear, and values are dissipated.

"Employment means ability to purchase. Ability to purchase means consumption. Consumption means production, and production means employment and prosperity.

"Abundant employment makes the worker his own master. He can afford to purchase and consume production. Without employment he is a burden on his savings, friends, or community.

"It is the great revolving circle of civic, social and industrial conditions, with no beginning and no ending. So long as it is unbroken, everything goes smoothly; so smoothly that economic life seems common-place. When it is broken, disaster follows.

"In the years agone the circle has been broken time and again, always by drastic or too radical legislation upon economic conditions by theorists.

"A corporation, no more than a man, can be bound hand and foot and give good service."

You should have a little sense and the dollars will take care of themselves.

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The Circle of the Labor Movement*

By J. K. TURNER

Chapter XIV.

Pre-Christian Unions

ANOTHER instance of the parallel of the trend of unionism today and that of ancient times is in the gradual encroachment upon individual liberty of action and thought which is subtly developing in the powerful organizations of today.

In studying ancient unionism, one cannot but become impressed with the similar trend of the development of the organization at the expense of the individual unit. As early as 600 B. C., we find the practice and teachings of the leaders identical with those of today. And so on, down through the centuries, resulting in the suppression of the individual's right and ability to think for himself. This gradually inculcated, at first, a belief that advancement could only come through organized effort, and as the years rolled on and the efforts of the organized masses met with defeat after defeat, it became the belief, amounting almost to a frenzy, that the advancement must come from aid from without.

As the years and centuries passed with little else but promises and sacrifices on the part of the people, this teaching naturally brought the conclusion and belief that no common man could lead them into the Promised Land. And this resulted in the longing for the super-human man, the Messiah.

Thus we find all through, the belief in a "Sotor" or "Saviour," and as early as the third and fourth centuries B. C., the term Sotor, or Messiah, became sacred, and an object of worship among the trades organizations, and they built their hope of the future on a Messiah.

About 200 B. C., there flourished a belief that the great man-god Osiris, once a living Egyptian monarch, but after death an immortal, was hovering around as a martyred Saviour who was to be resurrected and returned to save humanity.

So strong was this belief that the labor unions built a temple known as the Synod of Osiris.

Each union of the pre-Christian era was dedicated to a special god, who was supposed to look after the welfare of each particular craft. The one common feature that is associated with all of the unions, regardless of their individualistic or socialistic trend, was the common table, mentioned in former chapters.

This common table was not only for the purpose of eating and drinking but also for solid business transactions that were vigorously maintained under the established laws of those times, they utilized the forces of these unions through these public functions somewhat in the manner of the conventions of today.

There was then, as now, different jealousies and strifes between the various craft organizations, and these communal tables were advantageous in maintaining at least the appearance of solidarity to the outside world.

The president of each union was a power in his trade. Through their political affiliation and voting power they usurped the powers of a

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contractor for the state. This developed among the merchants a spirit of resistance which resulted in the organization of the merchants and employers who organized in exactly the same manner as did the mechanics and laboring element.

They appear to have undertaken their business methods, guided by the same law, and to have struggled against the aggressions of labor during the centuries of labor's power.

This inevitably led to clashes in which both sides suffered severely and as the power of the merchants' or employers' organizations grew, the power of labor organizations waned.

Society, or as it was termed the "patrician class," in nearly every controversy that arose, lined up solidly against labor because of the arrogance of its leaders who assumed superiority and persisted in demanding rights for their constituency which they were not willing to concede to any other branch of society.

The loss to the world through these internecine strifes and this lack of judgment on the part of labor's chosen leaders is demonstrated in the uprisings of Damascus, which resulted in the complete extinction of the skilled workmen of those times. Their skill in preparing raw steel has been so completely lost that our most practical scientists are unable to find what the methods of their production were, nor can we find a way to produce either the beautiful hues which variegated the steels and blades of cutlery or the temper by which one could double and redouble and toy with them at pleasure. They cannot be reproduced. The art was extinguished with the artists.

The same is true of producing inks which are never-fading. That invention reached down to the middle ages and was lost.

Other evidences, which multiply as we progress in our study of ancient labor, of the interwoven character of the sacred scriptures with the laws, customs, and policies of these pre-Christian era unions, are the differences that arose between union leaders about the ceremonies and customs at these communal feasts. It was customary at these feasts for the leaders who were supreme in power to testify to their humility in the presence of the concourse, by washing the feet of each other as part of the ceremonial, and this brings out an interesting story relative to Judas Iscariot, who was the treasurer of one of the communal organizations.

The expenses of these feasts were borne by the unions who collected dues or "cotisations" from the common membership, and it was the duty of the treasurer to purchase the supply for the whole community festivals from the money thus collected. It appears that Judas protested against the custom of anointing the feet of the leaders with the use of costly alabaster, and as he had a following who also resented this practice, which had grown slowly without comment, revolted, and they were expelled from the organization, and formed a counter-organization, known as the Society of Cainites, and as he, Judas, was the treasurer, he took to the new organization the balance that there was in the treasury. This latter organization remained in existence for about two hundred years, and was treated as Apostates and heretics.

For about a century and a half before the birth of Christ a group of unions were known as the Nazarenes. It was one of the innumerable progressive secret associations of those days which existed in all parts of the world, and it was to the existence of this organization, so widely

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extending, that the early followers or disciples of the Nazarene were enabled to "travel without money or purse" and preach the gospel in India and Arabia, and other far eastern countries.

Paul went from Damascus to Arabia, as did Bartholomew, preaching the gospel to the Indians who lived on the banks of the Ganges. It is evident that but for the organizations of the Nazarenes, these leaders could not have penetrated those unknown regions, had not there been these powerful organizations to receive and assist them. The brotherhoods of India were numerous and socially influential. They were more socialistic in their propaganda than were their brothers elsewhere. They were protected by the King and were exempt from all dangers and the burdens of war. They were employed on public works, all lands being the property of the State. They had their agents who combined missionary work with the business of the organization and their community. It is found that they had economic organizations and various schools of Indian thought and these associations were inspired by economic rather than sacred motives, more so in India than elsewhere.

They had established communication with the western people and were shown to be progressive in arts and the sciences, more so than their brothers elsewhere.

They were divided into seven classes.

The first class was the Philosophers, who helped the King in his work of State, planned the revenues, watched the process of income from the planting of the harvest, breeding of animals, and every year a common council was held with the King on the best measures to pursue in the forthcoming year.

The second class was the farmers and tillers, but as all of the land belonged to the State, the farmers worked it on shares, taking one-fourth of the product. The farmers enjoyed complete exemption from military service and were known as the "Immunes." They had a law by which they enjoyed protection from injury against health or accident.

The third class consisted of the herdsmen and hunters. They kept the cattle and other animals for the market. They freed the land from birds and beasts that destroyed the seed and the common property of the State.

The fourth class consisted of skilled workers in the technical arts, and the dealers. These were also exempt from open combat and the dangers of war. They were encouraged in invention and skill in every way by the State.

The fifth class was the military.

The sixth class was the officials, judges, and those clothed with the police powers of the State. They had also control over economic matters of the organizations at home and the military affairs in the field.

And lastly, were the Patricians. These were the counsellors and special commissioners of the King. They were not permitted to mingle with or inter-marry with the workmen or other classes of the State.

In the pre-Christian unions, there slowly developed a recognition of the fact that the more slaves there were, the more enemies to their principles and doctrines. The distinction drawn between the freed men and slaves by the customs of the time resulted from thousands of years of teachings that the slaves did not possess souls. They were simply implements of toil. With the dawning recognition of the importance of the slaves to their own safety and security, we find the efforts of the

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unions gradually directed to the purchase of the slaves. As all these purchases were made in the name of the chosen god of their craft, this meant freedom for the slaves.

Even up to and after the Christian era, the children of the slaves and freedmen were illegitimate and they were prohibited by law from inter-marriage. Immediately after the events ushering in the Christian era, the belief began to take root that the destinies of the people, slaves, or freedmen, were intertwined and interwoven, and recognition on the part of subsequent leaders of labor of the fact that their defeat while primarily caused by society was all the more easy of accomplishment through the enmity and jealousy of the slave population. Hence we find a determined effort immediately following this period to abolish and eliminate the distinction between freedmen and slaves. This was fostered rather than hindered by the tactics of oppression and suppression of the Romans who made it a custom to brand those whose lives were spared with the word "Atimia." The meaning of the word was that the person thus branded was cursed and had no friend, to whom death would bring relief.

Another striking parallel between the ancient unionists of Numa and the present day Christianity is the adoption by the latter of the term "pope." Numa's idea in the formation of his Collegia or College of Pontiffs was simply a recognition of the power of the union of bridge builders. Originally the College of Pontiffs or union of bridge builders was a group of masons, carpenters, and mechanics. They flourished because they were voting unions and obtained political control in a peaceful manner. All that Numa did was to sanction their existence and laws were passed which enabled them to vote their candidates into the offices of public works, thereby securing for themselves the labor of building bridges, sewers, and public edifices.

The term "Pontiff" is an abbreviation of Pontifex, which means "bridge builder."

600 years B. C., we find the term in the union curricula of the Lamb of God. As these unions were superstitious and believed in super-natural aid, the idea of sacrifice is conected therewith, and at stated periods a lamb was sacrificed to the gods. Particularly was this custom practiced at initiations.

The powerful unions wielded a moral influence upon these members. According to the ancient laws, marriage was prohibited them and their offspring were illegitimate, but under the protection of their unions, they actually did live together as man and wife through a whole life time and over-rode the law.

Later Christianity, intolerant of the Pagan rule, broke up the law entirely and constituted marriage as the foundation of the family. The true history of Christianity anti-dates Christ, being always inherent in the curricula of the unions.

Thirty-seven years after the Crucifixion, there was an effort to resurrect the unions under the leadership of James, brother of Jesus, assisted by Stephen, who was stoned to death.

Opposition developing within the ranks, resulted in the murder of James, the Just. This incident called attention of the Roman power to the attempt to reorganize, and no where in history is there a duplication of the cataclysm and destruction which followed.

During the celebration of the feast of the Passover at Jerusalem,

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when a large multitude was gathered within its walls, the Romans suddenly appeared before the city's gates. After forcing a passage into the city, they began a systematic slaughter. Authorities differ as to the dead. No other massacre on record assumed such gigantic proportions. Josephus, one author, gives the number killed at 1,100,000, while Tacitus gives it as 600,000.

This terrible reprisal drove the unions into deeper secrecy and for 300 years we find them so thoroughly suppressed that their meeting places were in grottos, cellars, and amphitheatres which were dug out of the sides of the hills.

The spirit of the common table for centuries remained as the sole indication of the strength of the past.

(To be Continued)

Bathing alone will not keep you clean.

Watered Labor.

IT is stated in report of Pennsylvania Railroad that superfluous train hands demanded by extra crew law of the state of Pennsylvania cost the road upward of $1,000,000 a year. This represents 5% upon a capital of $20,000,000. This is watered labor, of a kind far more intolerable than watered capital."

"If multiplied by all railroads affected by such laws, the watered labor may be easily estimated at $100,000,000. Suppose the railroads of the United States were to issue a like amount of stock, with nothing behind it? What an outburst of public indignation there would be! And how seriously the credit of the railroads themselves would be damaged! Injury to a railroad's credit, it need hardly be said, means skimped maintenance and less efficient service.

"But this actual $100,000,000 is something more than capital stock. Wages, in every state, take precedence of all fixed charges. This incubus, therefore, is a trifle worse than issue of $100,000,000 5% bonds, plain water, ahead of all other obligations.

"The sums thus expended to subsidized idlers would have at least five times the employing power if converted into upkeep and improvements. Labor unions, instead of employing more men, are really reducing employment to that extent. The utter unintelligence of sacrificing such substantial benefits to the workmen, for a prize relatively so small, is typical of a labor union policy which is becoming a positive menace.

"There is another way in which the railroad worker suffers. These superfluous employes choke the channels of promotion. They make advancement of train hands to higher, better paid and more responsible positions, at least 25% slower. This may suit the well-paid labor leader, who would sooner rest his power upon ignorance and dependence. But how does it strike the ambitious train hand on a road like the Pennsylvania, where practically every officer, from the president down, has risen from the ranks?"—*News Bureau.*

Myths are significant only of forgotten beliefs.

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Un-American Tactics.

By J. K. Turner

THE self-imposed duty of guarding our sacred liberties has been violated by the press. The liberties of the people mean the whole people, and not those of a clique or class. The recognized method of guarding them is to prevent any and all legislation that in any manner may be inimical to the interests of the whole people, as the success of society is inextricably inerwoven in all co-ordinated branches.

No branch is entitled to anything but equality before the law. The recognized and most successful method of prevention is publicity of any attempt on the part of any portion of society to enforce class legislation through subtle or other unfair methods. Any honest attempt to better the conditions of the people as a whole seeks the open light of day through the columns of the press. When any secret attempt is made to enact into laws special privilege, no matter how worthy, through force, or dependence on the lack of interest or understanding of the same, it is safe to assume that the intent is dishonest and it is the plain duty of the press to expose them, no matter who or what they are.

Labor's effort during the closing hours of the last Congress to introduce a bill requiring Congress to appropriate $290,000 to defray the fine of the Hatters' Union in the Danbury hatters' case is a significant indication of the dangerous attitude of mind of the leaders of today, and the one-sided representation of the average representative in Congress.

Why did not our Argus-eyed press representatives report this important fact to the people? Is our press representative of all our people when they suppress an attempt on labor's part to mulct all the people and force honest, law-abiding people to bear the burden of the results of lawlessness on the part of a few malcontents whose policy of selfishness and greed led them into opposition to laws of equity, resulting in their overthrow, and the fine which they are seeking to force, with the aid of *Congress,* the people, whom they oppressed by their tactics, to assist in paying.

That the bill died in committee along with 43 other bills of the same partisan nature does not make the attempt less dastardly nor dangerous. The press must awaken and represent the whole people. The people must take cognizance of these arrogant self-seeking demagogues.

As another evidence of the under-hand selfish tactics of labor leaders it is interesting to note the developments in the Arizona 80% citizen labor law passed at the last election. Labor leaders of the state, who were responsible for placing it on the official ballot, so abbreviated and worded it that even the keenest voter could have little conception of what he was asked to pass upon. It contained no reference to mining, which is the state's most important industry, and which would be crippled by its passage. There was no reference to "80%" and no direct statement regarding the exclusion of aliens, but it appeared to be an effort to protect the laboring men of Arizona. The result was that it passed by a vote of "Yeas, 25,000; Nays, 14,000." It is now up to the Supreme Court of the United States to pull Arizona out of its predicament.

The following is a copy of all that appeared on the ballot:

"An act to protect the citizens of the United States, in their employ-

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ment against non-citizens of the United States, in Arizona, and to provide penalties and punishment for the violation thereof."

New York city recently discovered the fact that a law has been written into her statutes at labor's command, which bids fair to bankrupt the city in her efforts to build the subway.

In the wage controversy now before the arbitration committee at Chicago, the officials of the firemen's organization made the statement that they had been authorized to speak for the colored firemen of the south. The constitution of the brotherhood having drawn the color line, they only tolerated the employment of colored firemen in the south through the force of economic necessity. It developed that the brotherhoods demanded the same pay for the colored firemen as for the white. This brought out the fact that in such an event, the application of such a ruling would ultimately force the colored firemen out of the ranks. One of the arbitrators asked the president of the firemen's union if such would be the result if the wages were equal for both classes of firemen, upon which the president said it would ultimately mean the extinction of the colored firemen. The arbitrator then asked: "Do the colored firemen know this fact, or have they been advised of it?" The president replied that they did not know it, nor did they consider it within their province to so advise them, at which the arbitrator tritely remarked: "It is time that some one told them."

Of a like nature is the arrogance and coercive tactics shown in labor's efforts to defeat the repeal of the full crew bills, which are being referred to the people as uneconomic and utterly wasteful in their operation, as demonstrated after a fair trial on the part of the railroads.

One honest and intelligent *Union* railroader of twenty years' experience writes THE MEDIATOR that the unions in question have posted notices in the various lodge rooms that "Any member who is in favor of the repeal of the full crew bills and so expresses himself will be expelled."

But the honest men of the type of THE MEDIATOR'S correspondent are more numerous in their ranks than are the leaders aware of.

Another attempt is being made in New Jersey, through the aid of the legislature, to force a bill through which if passed would make it unlawful for the railroads to make "surprise" tests with block signals to determine whether engineers are obeying the rules. The bill provides that before making test signals, written notice must first be given to the engineers that the tests will be made. The time honored "surprise" test is the most effective way for the railroads to determine if its Safety First rules are being carried out.

The folly of the bill in question is without parallel in railway labor legislation.

Such coercive tactics on the part of chosen leaders of voluntary organizations can only result in the defeat of leaders who seek to drive where they should lead. The danger is more acute to the union propaganda than to the people as a whole, as they have always shown readiness to protect their interest when attacked by any portion of their body, once they are convinced that their comfort and right are endangered by arrogant and selfish classes.

Those who never learn what they are good for are generally good for nothing.

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President Wood's Philosophy of Work.

PRESIDENT WM. M. WOOD of American Woolen Co., in an interview in the Boston *Sunday Globe*, which describes his starting to work for a Quaker merchant in New Bedford at $1 a week, is quoted as follows:

"The poor boy starting in the business world has the advantage of being obliged to make good. I remember when I washed windows and 'polished up the handle of the big front door' for a living. I was watching all the time for promotion. When it came I knew its value.

"The rich man's son is handicapped by not knowing the value of money. The rich man's first duty, in starting his son in life, is to teach him this. The only way is to teach him to work for a small salary. Setting him adrift to shift for himself I don't think a good plan. The greatest need of the rich man's son is parental guidance. Work is a great blessing.

"Talk of rich men's sons being failures is much like the talk that all business men are dishonest. I think business men as a whole are wonderfully honest.

"College training has undoubted merits in a general way, but also has serious drawbacks. When we start a college boy here, he knows all about his job in two hours and in ten days is making suggestions as to how we should run the American Woolen Co.'s business. It shows he hasn't learned the value of work. He doesn't buckle down. His methods are slack. He is careless. His horizon has been too wide, his attention not fixed on essentials of life long enough to teach him the necessity of concentration. With the poor boy it is dig or get out. But the difference is one of training rather than character. When the college boy has learned the need of concentration, he becomes valuable. Some of the best of my young men are college-bred."

Freedom.

NO man is good enough to govern another man without that other man's consent. When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism. Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us; our defense is in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands, everywhere. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it.—*Abraham Lincoln.*

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There is So Much to Do.

By A. M. Taylor

The morn returns. Another day is ours
To labor on, to do with all the powers
That He has given, in gladness, what we may;
Yet gone, forever gone, those hours of yesterday.

Those hours of potent worth, to us they brought
A value measured by the work we wrought—
And though we did our best to fill them all,
The total that we gained, 'twas all too small.

The span of life allowed, three score and ten,
Unreached by some, is passed by other men;
Our own we cannot know, our setting sun
May come too soon, to find our task but just begun.

Time is so short, and everywhere we turn,
There is so much to do, so much to learn;
The golden, gliding moments slip away—
With flying feet, the hours that make a day
Too short, by far, for what we have to do,
Speed swiftly by, their moments all too few.

Ah! had we power, like Joshua of old,
Who bade the sun to stand, as on its path it rolled,—
Just for a single hour, its onward course to stay,
Too swiftly comes the night—we've much to do today.

When nightfall bids us stop, and put away
The well loved task, still longer would we stay:
Though hard we toil, from rise to set of sun,
Night comes too soon—there's still so much undone.

Then let us haste—make progress while we may—
With all our strength pursue, the task from day to day;
There is so much to learn before we're through—
Time is so short—and there's so much to do.

JUST WHISTLE

When your heart is sad and the world is glum,
Whistle—that's all—just whistle!
Pretend you're a fife—though you have no drum—
Whistle—that's all—just whistle!
Nary a classic or tearful song,
But a ragtime melody jigging along,
An air as light as a thistle.
When the world is weary and life's all wrong,
Whistle—that's all—just whistle!

Pucker your lips and pipe a tune.
Whistle—that's all—just whistle!
It's bound to brighten you up right soon.
Whistle—that's all—just whistle!
Whistle at fate in the gayest style,
Though she keeps you dodging all the while,
As she tosses many a missile;
Though your timbre is poor and your time is vile,
Whistle—that's all—just whistle!

It's a solace when skies are gray or blue.
Whistle—that's all—just whistle!
And it's better than groans to listen to.
Whistle—that's all—just whistle!
Fight the fight with soul intent,
With all of your courage and daring bent,
With all of your bone and gristle;
But when things happen you can prevent,
Whistle—that's all—just whistle!

—Selected.

HUG YOUR JOB

Things are dull in San Francisco,
"On the bum" in New Orleans;
"Rather punk" in cultured Boston,
Famed for codfish, pork and beans.
"On the hog" in Kansas City;
Out in Denver things are jarred;
And they're "beefing" in Chicago
That the times are mighty hard.

Not much doing in St. Louis—
It's the same in Baltimore—
Coin don't rattle in Seattle
As it did in days of yore.
Jobs are scarce around Atlanta;
All through Texas it is still,
And there's very little stirring
In the town of Louisville.

There's a howl from Cincinnati,
New York City, Brooklyn, too;
In Milwaukee's foamy limits
There's but little work to do.
In the face of all such rumors
It seems not amiss to say
That no matter where you're going
You had better stay away.

—Railroad Telegrapher.

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A Letter and a Reply.

Editor, The Mediator, Cleveland, O.

Dear Sir: I have become satisfied that you are endeavoring to harmonize friction that seems to be developing between man and man; particularly am I interested in your article, "Our German Brother."

I have read it with a great deal of pleasure as I have also read your April number which treats further on the subject.

I will be interested to know what you think of the peculiar paradox as emphasized in the appeal prepared by the American Club of Dresden, addressed to the people of the United States.

The appeal says:

"Since August, 1914, the press of the entire world has occupied itself with the question as to which country was guilty of the present European holocaust. Let us leave this to history, and see what means are at our disposal to extinguish the fire.

"Americans, we possess these means. We are the only neutral Power still permitting the delivery of war material to the warring nations. This is miserable hypocrisy—to pray for peace and at the same time prolong the war by furnishing the weapons.

"Use all your influence to stop these deliveries. We beg not for your sympathy for any one Power, but we implore you as human beings, as Christians, to assist in bringing this fearful murder and desolation to an end."

Does it not seem to you as though there was some merit in the claims made in this appeal?

Yours in the cause of mediation, square deal, and brotherhood,

EDWARD HAUPTMAN,
Trenton, N. J.

America is the home of the idealist. If anything has assisted in the growth and development of the American people it has been the predominance of the practical among the idealists who have been responsible.

The American people as a people favor peace. They abhor war or any form of aggression and strife which endangers their welfare, comfort, safety and liberty.

THE MEDIATOR does not believe that the administration at Washington has anything to apologize for in the course which it has adopted of holding to the line of neutrality in its strictest sense. The question of furnishing the belligerents with supplies is receiving considerable notoriety and publicity. It is generally being discussed by extremists on both sides. This is what makes it so timely that the foremost authority on international law should come to the defence of the position of our government in its interpretation of international law. This Authority says:

"International law enables the belligerents to stop the shipments of supplies to her enemy if she can intercept them on the high seas or in belligerent territory, but the neutral shipper has no duty to abstain from, and the neutral government no obligation to forbid such sales or shipments.

"There has been some discussion as to the passage of a statute covering this point but there is little likelihood of its ever becoming part of the international law for a neutral government to refuse supplies to

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belligerents because common sense tells us, that it is always the assailant and not the assailed who chooses the time for attack. Therefore, in the nature of things, he is prepared for war and probably his victim is not.

"It seems plain that a general change of law in the line of the proposed statute would impose a policy of strenuous militarism on all nations and much increase, instead of reduce, the necessity of maintaining a war footing in times of peace. No nation could afford to be without complete supplies adequate for war always available within her borders.

"Wars are as sudden as conflagrations in their origin and the advantages of preparation and initiative are immense."

"The development of civilization and morals, particularly European, indicates that under the modern rules and conditions, not the rudest or hardiest, but the richest, are the strongest in war. Since the rich are the most peaceful, this fact tends to preserve the peace of the world.

"Wars are whirlwind attacks of preparedness, of brute force against the unpreparedness of wealth. These sudden and devastating assaults are met by desperate and heroic resistance and counter-attacks. No nation or combination of nations can long maintain a struggle which quickly exhausts where it does not wholly destroy.

"Hence the change of law and policy complained of would increase and encourage a predatory policy, stimulate war, and discourage peace."

The conclusion of the ablest authorities on international law is that the general rule now in force is the wiser, and more conducive to peace, and more beneficial to mankind than the proposed change which is advocated by our friends in Dresden and elsewhere.

Unionism.

WE do not insist that all who come to our shores shall become citizens and share in the expense and responsibilities of citizenship before we permit them to share the benefits that accrue to citizenship. Nor do we ostracize those who disagree with our ideas and methods. We tolerate them and listen to their ideas and embrace all the advantages that their ideas contain over ours and thus we seek to attract and not force them to become citizens. This is the basic principle of the most successful union of the people of all times and all climes.

The basic principle of unionism of the true type is choice. Organized labor's is coercive.

BROTHERHOOD

By A. M. Taylor

Because, my Brother, 'twas decreed by fate,
That yours should be, on earth, a better state,
Or, if a fortune, kind, your way has blessed,
What share of praise is yours above the rest?

What if the Potter modelled you from finer clay,
Because his fancy chose it; should you say,
That aught to you is due, for greater worth,
Than others that he made from coarser earth?

The plodding Brother that you meet, from day to day,
Deserves not scorn from you because his way
Was set in paths less smooth, through fields less fair;
Less kind to him the fate that placed him there.

If fate to you was kind, go rather then,
With words of kindly greeting for all men,
Knowing not yours the hand that gave you place,
Seeking to help some Brother in the race.

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"Business is Paralized."

CLIFFORD THORNE, chairman of the Iowa railroad commission, who is opposing the freight rate increase proposed by western railroads, has received a vigorous protest against his policy from J. W. Bettendorf, president of the Bettendorf Company, of Davenport, Ia.

Mr. Bettendorf says:

"For the period of ten months following July 1, 1913, our payroll amounted to $1,400,000, paid to an average of 2,000 men at the rate of $35,000 per week. From May 1, 1914, to the present time (ten months) we have been enabled to employ an average of only 400 men, and in this period the payroll has not exceeded $300,000.

"This shrinkage of $1,100,000 during the past ten months represents just this much loss to the merchants of this community, a loss most seriously felt. Merchants approach me continually in the hope that I can assure them that conditions are improving and business will soon return to normal. This I cannot do. . . What has the shipper gained if, by the saving of a few dollars in freight, he contributes so largely to a condition that actually destroys the buying power of the community? As a large shoe dealer recently put it, 'What gain is there in saving a few cents on freight if I cannot sell my shoes?'

"The very fact that the railroads claim the increase of rates asked for would produce but $10,000,000 additional revenue, while the opposition claims it would produce $100,000,000, would seem to indicate that much if not all the present discussion is based entirely on theory and the skilful manipulation of figures.

"That business is paralyzed, practically at a standstill, with our

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manufacturing institutions and merchants thoroughly alarmed, is an undeniable fact and not a theory. Will not these deplorable conditions be aggravated by a determination to prove a doubtful theory? Activity of the railroad companies spells prosperity; their inactivity means depression generally.

"Grant this increase asked for. If the returns resulting therefrom are abnormal, it will be immediately reflected in a surplus (since future railway accounting is to be under government supervision) and when this surplus assumes normal proportions then will the shipper be justified in demanding participation therein through the medium of lowered rates.

"I will not attempt to defend the past conduct of some of the railway companies, but it seems to me that with the future issuance of bonds or increases in stock, under the supervision of the government (just as are the public utilities companies of the state of New York under the control of the state) the past can and must be absolutely ignored. We are now confronted with a condition that must be met by the application of common sense.

"Under normal conditions, such as existed in 1913, the tonnage of freight arising directly from the activity of our company amounted in round numbers to about 450,000 tons, or an average of one train a day consisting of fifty carloads of 60,000 pounds each, which at an average of $2.40 per ton, created a revenue to the railroad company alone of about $1,100,000, while in 1914 this tonnage shrunk to about 170,000 tons, creating a revenue of about $400,000 to the railroad companies.

"This inability on the part of the railway companies to purchase equipment not only resulted in the vast falling off of business, but was also the direct cause of the cancellation of orders placed, or the suspension of delivery on large orders, for some of which we had already provided the necessary materials. One such order alone represented nearly $750,000."—*Ry. Age Gazette.*

People who are taught only to obey never develop personal intiative.

Railway Pay Muddle.

THE Railway Mail Pay question still occupies the center of public attention, and will continue to do so until the matter is adjusted on a fair and equitable basis.

It will not do for extremists on either side to claim misrepresentation by the opposition, particularly when the ex-parte commisison, authorized by Congress in its report, takes the view that the figures and comparisons made by the government are unreliable; so much so, that the railroads and other classes of citizens would be justified to combine and inform the public of their position.

The spokesman of the committee rebukes the government in the statement: "It would appear necessary for the citizens to inform themselves in order to protect themselves against their own government."

The chairman of the Railway Mail Pay committee welcomes the reopening of the case. The department, however, accuses the railroads of defrauding the government and of conducting expensive propaganda to defeat the economies of the department. Members of the commission appointed by Congress, however, state there is no justification to the

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lobby charge and invite a free and fair combat at the next session of Congress on the merits of the case.

Meantime public opinion will do well to accept the suggestion of the committee and inform itself of the facts so that justice may be done to all.

Look for your own faults and you won't have time to find fault.

"Regulating" the Press.

POSSIBLY no incident in recent years has attracted so much attention of editorial minds as the inquisition of the editor of the New York *Times* by the Senatorial Committee.

Many editorials on this incident are hysterical. Great good will accrue in the result, if the press of the country awakens to the fact that it can only hope to escape the flood of political inquisition, which it assisted in launching, by fair and intelligent fulfillment of the duties it owes to society as a whole.

It would be well for the press to understand and take cognizance of the fact that intelligent people, in considering questions of State, are rapidly eliminating party lines. It is no longer popular to vote the party ticket because it is the party ticket.

It is true that we need a democratic and republican press, but the mud-throwing tactics of both are distasteful and the really influential press of today is the press that stands for all parties when they are right.

The New York *Evening Post,* commenting upon this matter, realizes the seriousness of the condition which brought about this incident, and is also broad enough to see the responsibility that all the press of the country must assume, and recognize its share in.

"Looking at the whole movement referred to," says the New York *Evening Post,* "it is undeniable that the press ought to profit by the many warnings that it must set its house in order if it is really to head off hostile legislation. Its sins of omission and commission, the offenses of many journals against good taste and even decency, their refusal to respect legitimate privacy, the unbridled attacks of yellow journalists upon public officials—these and many other offenses are bound to result in reprisals. The better elements within its ranks ought to lose no time in taking action against the offenders lest the sins of the minority be visited upon the heads of the majority. Otherwise its proper and needed freedom from a hateful and dangerous public supervision and control will be in danger of passing away."

Before criticising, let us find a better way.

Harmful Tactics.

IT would appear as though with the rights of free speech and free press that force is no longer a concomitant of justice and that any measure which invokes force as an argument is open to grave suspicion.

The intensity of feeling created in the east by the attempt to repeal

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the full crew bills is indicative and characteristic of organizations which depend solely upon force to wrest unfair conditions from the unorganized masses.

We read in the despatches of the killing by civil authorities of a prominent member of a powerful organization, who was leading a riotous disturbance in the railroad yards in Philadelphia, due to the fact that one of the members of the organization had signed a petition advocating the repeal of the law.

At Harrisburg, recently, the various organizations sustaining this measure turned out in force, their object being to intimidate the legislature through show of numbers. In New York State, the legislature side-stepped the question.

The New York *Times* in commenting upon these facts very forcefully illustrates the danger of the present trend of these organized propagandists, and sounds a timely warning to the politician.

"The Senate amended the bill repealing the New York full crew law by providing that the Public Service Commission should regulate the size of train crews. The object of the amendment is too plain. It is desired to pretend to please the railways without offending the unions. Of the two things the senators are more fearful of offending the unions, and less desirous of pleasing the railways. There seems to be no attention paid to the general public, which thinks more of itself than any section of itself. There is neither tenderness for the railways nor offense to the unions in the public demand for fair play to the railways. The public wants a square deal for everybody, and does not think it gets what it pays the railways for when the railways' resources are diverted to discriminating payments contrary to the public interest, and without regard to the worth of the service paid for.

"The passage of the full crew law was characteristic of an administration which was no credit to the State. The refusal to repeal the bill squarely would discredit another administration. No juggling with the repeal should be tolerated. The issue is a square one. Every member of the Legislature ought to be put on the record as favoring unfair payments to the train hands or as favoring the railways in their efforts to serve the public. It is time to oppose the terrorism of the labor vote with the terrorism of the general vote."

These who have nothing to lose are quit willing to lose it.

Labor vs. Labor.

THE arbitration proceedings, held for the purpose of adjusting wage demands of organized labor, have not been as satisfactory as had been hoped for, by either of the parties to the controversy.

But these proceedings have demonstrated a fact which will ultimately result in revolutionizing these contentions.

So accustomed have we become to considering these economic differences as warfare between capital and labor, that it has become second nature. It is gradually developing that this is a mistake. The strife is really a conflict of Labor vs. Labor. There is no competition in the labor market by capital. The competition is all on the part of labor, and

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as competition rules everywhere, the real crux of the situation lies in labor's competition with labor.

Naturally, organized labor, having power, forces demands that unorganized labor considers unjust when it compares them with its earnings. Time and again this has cropped out and unorganized labor has been forced to bear the burden of unemployment to a larger share than the organized. This is continued in, and today we find prevailing a feeling of bitterness intensified between the organized and unorganized. This feeling is more serious than the feeling ever expressed against the employer.

Leaders of labor must recognize this. Unquestionably it is recognized by the rank and file of their membership who have constantly brought this fact to the notice of THE MEDIATOR.

Yet the economic trend of affairs, due to the pressure of the high cost of living, forces these leaders to ignore all but the immediate benefit to their immediate constituency, through whom they receive and maintain power.

Throughout the daily press, there are constant warnings to labor leaders that they are over-reaching, and this was emphatically brought home by the press despatches reporting the prime reason for the Georgia & Florida Railroad being forced into receivership. The statement of the president to the District Court, in applying for receivership, follows:

"Receivership might have been avoided but for depression in business resulting from the war and that constant demands of labor unions throttled the proposition, just when it seemed commencing to make good. At a critical time there was a disastrous strike, which completely tied up the road, and, although the property has never recovered from that trouble, there has hardly been a month when there have not been before the officers burdensome labor problems and demands for increase in wages. The public does not realize to what extent the railroads have to submit to the dictates of the Brotherhood of Engineers and Firemen."

THE MEDIATOR has time and again warned organized labor of the rocks ahead, due to their arrogant selfish policy. Society tolerates selfishness until that selfishness encroaches upon what society considers her just prerogatives, which are equally as selfish. It is time for the thinkers in organized labor's ranks to realize that if they wish to maintain the power which has been so beneficial to them they must heed these warnings; else reprisals will be swift and sure, for the multitudes unorganized speak through the propaganda of society.

Jealousy is an acknowlegment of inferiority.

Our Duty to To-morrow.

THERE is no question but what great changes are due in the affairs of men. Whether these changes are for the better or worse remains solely in the hands of the people of affairs. Too long have they permitted affairs of the people to be guided by whims. If the future is to be shaped progressively to the further comfort and happiness of all, it must

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be shaped now, not tomorrow, NOW, by those who know from experience that they owe it to the future that they should shape them, for it was through the shaping of the immediate past by thoughtful ones who preceded them, in that they acquired wealth and power. This indicates the duty of the successful to the future, for there is a time coming when they will lay down their burdens and leave this state; the power and wealth within their hands cannot set back this date.

Then reason should show what they owe to the future can only be paid today, for they will not be here or able to shape anything in the future.

When a body is sick, it is not at ease, and this is Nature's warning to man, and he tries, regardless of discouragements and failures, to find something to relieve the disease and bring back ease. When the whole body politic is diseased, all its parts are not co-ordinated and all efforts have been expended in poulticing to relieve the disease, only to register failure after failure, yet they still adhere to poultices.

Returning to the simile. In the physical man, scientific students have left the era of poulticing, blood letting, etc., and are more successfully treating physical ailments through eradication of causes, recognizing that a clean organism makes disease impossible.

SANO MENS SANO CAPORE (sane mind—sane body) is recognized as the basis of health.

SANO MENS SANO CAPORE will redound to a healthy civilization, that the future may show advance.

To make both ends meet, don't try to go too far around.

The Seamen's Bill.

IF after struggling for a principle for twenty years, and succeeding in having that principle sustained, and its results indicate the antithesis of what was expected, it would indicate either incorrect application of the principle or that the principle is uneconomic and consequently wrong.

These are the thoughts that occur to the writer in considering the famous seamen's bill, which after years of struggle, has been successfully made into law. The first indications of the results of this bill are evidenced in the action of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, which has served notice that owing to the operations of this bill, it will be impossible for them to continue to operate their service, after the bill becomes operative.

It is too soon to state specifically which contention is correct, but it is self evident that under a free and unrestricted form of competitive government, legislation which may possibly be intended to benefit one class of its citizens cannot get away from the interdependence of man and the operation of the laws of trade in competitive fields.

The seamen of America are in competition with the seamen of the world and they cannot expect to legislate uneconomic laws which will operate in opposition to natural laws of world-wide competition.

Those who drive with a tight rein don't get speed.

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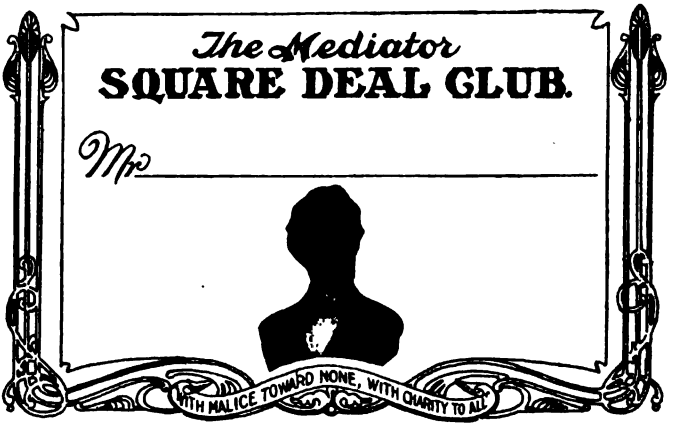

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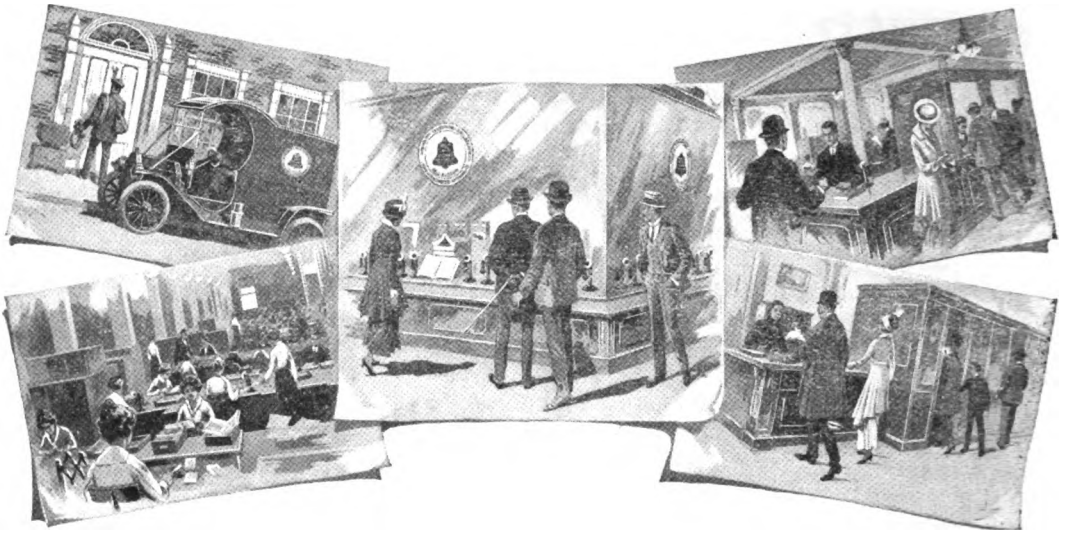

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THE MEDIATOR

VOLUME 7 CLEVELAND, OHIO, JUNE, 1915 NUMBER 6

1916

By J. K. TURNER

THE future of every nation and every race is interwoven with the events of the past. The present is but a station in an endless journey. It is wise therefore, in laying out the course of future action to inquire in the light of the past "where are we at?"

Next year the people of this country will express their views regarding the success of the policies which were adopted at our last presidential election. Everywhere throughout the land we are discussing the platform and policies for 1916, and the standard bearers appear to be a secondary question and only important so far as they may represent the policies adopted. It is a time for inquiring, what of the past? and what of the present? so that we may wisely lay out our work for the future.

Every financial depression has good mingled with the evil. They call a halt upon extravagance and teach economy, and they also lead the people to think,—to inquire into the situation and the causes for such depression. The financial depression from which we are just emerging has led the people to realize the interdependence of everyone upon the other, and that the present depression at least, has been to a greater or less extent due to a lack of a general acceptance and appreciation of the fact that in the interwoven and complex system of our present civilization, any action inimical or detrimental to any citizen or group of citizens ultimately proves detrimental to all.

No better illustration of this proposition can be found than the vexed railroad problem. The governmental regulation of railroads while old in theory, in actual practice is a matter of the recent past. Although governmental regulation of railroads as now administered has proven more of a detriment than a benefit, yet the fact that the public at large has continued its confidence in the system and that national and state railroad commissions have been multiplied and enlarged would seem to demonstrate that such governmental regulation has come to stay.

It would therefore, seem to be a wise policy to inquire into the evils of the present administration of such regulation, rather than to seek to abolish the same entirely. In fact, the best minds of the country today are at work devising ways and means whereby the errors of the past and present may be remedied and these utility commissions be made instruments of conservation instead of condemnation. As these commissions have been and are being operated the investing public has, in a large measure, lost confidence in the securities of the corporations under the control of these utility commissions, and this situation has led all thoughtful citizens to inquire, what is the trouble? We, therefore, may be pardoned if we present some criticism of the methods and organizations of these utility commissions and some suggestions as to their reform.

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In these commissions as at present organized we have combined in the same men the functions and powers of investigator, prosecutor and judge. This is not a wise or safe combination. The wonder is that they have not made more errors than they have. In our opinion this defect in the organization of the utility commissions, both national and state, is generic and must be remedied before these commissions can accomplish for the public the objects desired. We are firmly convinced that the public desires justice and not prosecution, a fair deal, not only for the public, but for the railroad companies and every public utility corporation.

It is a fundamental proposition that the office of judge and prosecutor are incompatible; that he who presents a case for one party or against another party is not the proper person to decide upon the conflicting claims. The procedures of our courts, our constitution and laws are full of provisions to make sure that the judges of our courts shall not be influenced by any prejudice or outside influences; and in the procedure of our courts every effort is made to secure juries who are free from preconceived impressions of the cases that are to be tried by them, unbiased and in a position to render a verdict according to the evidence that shall be presented to them. In one of their functions these utility commissions are triers of both fact and law. They combine the functions of judge and jury and should enter upon the performance of those functions as unbiased as the judges and juries in our courts.

Another function of these commissions is to investigate the situation so as to determine what is best for the public, and for the railroads (for what is best for the railroads is best for the public) and those performing this function should be in a position to have but one purpose, namely, to ascertain the truth. They should not assume the attitude or entertain the sentiments of detectives seeking to ferret out evidence of crime. For the purpose of such investigation they should bring all such technical knowledge as is required. The force performing these investigations should be ample to secure a speedy determination of the same as delay and uncertainty is often worse than a wrong conclusion.

It is probably wise, when it seems necessary to present for determination a question for adjudication that the governmental side of such question should be presented by someone in the character of a prosecutor who shall see that all facts and all rules of law in favor of the governmental side of such questions is fully, forcibly and fairly presented to the tribunal that shall hear such question.

It is our firm conviction that until the three functions of the utility commissions above referred to are separated and entrusted to three different independent men or groups of men, these utility commissions will continue to fail to give the public the advantages which it is believed should be secured from them. In our opinion the combination of these three functions is the primary and fundamental error of our utility commissions as at present organized, and that however carefully the personnel of such commissions is selected or whatever steps may be taken to secure an even division of such personnel among the various classes who are interested in such commission, the errors and mistakes of the same will not be cured.

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If the people will apply reason's rule to this problem they will realize that the real attitude of the future is the reorganization of the various utility commissions and the separation of these three functions under three separate controlling men or groups of men. Those who sit in judgment should not be tinged with prejudice, which is bound to come from the prosecution of a case. Those whose attitude it is to prosecute are thereby to a large extent disqualified to be the ones who investigate. Those who investigate should investigate with the idea of ascertaining the truth, fully realizing that the people's interests cannot be conserved by any injustice to a public utility and that any injury to such utility will surely react upon the people and be an injury to them.

The line separating the jurisdiction of the national or interstate utility commissions and the state commissions should be definitely marked out. State commissions should handle state matters only. Any complaint or measure that they may have brought to their notice involving interstate matter or pertaining to interstate corporations should be referred to the national utility commissions, without other action of any kind upon the part of the state commissions.

The railroads of this country are the arteries of its commerce. As a healthy physical body depends upon the free and unrestricted arterial flow, so in our national organism the flow of our transportation arteries should be free and uninterrupted.

We believe the people have become tired of the muck raking which seeks to thrive upon the weaknesses of men. Demagogic attacks may continue but the public as a body is honest, and will do the right thing when properly informed. The welfare of all is subserved by developing the strength in each and all of our citizens. When the public rises, as it will, to an appreciation of this fact then the demagogue will disappear, in this sphere of activity at least.

The outcome is a matter of education and the best results can only be secured by education along right lines. It is useless to attempt to abolish governmental supervision and regulation of public utility corporations, but the agencies of such supervision and regulation need, we believe, reorganization along the lines above suggested.

If the boss knew as much as you think you know, he'd have fired you long ago.

Railroads Create Wealth

Our marvelous crops would count for nothing if forced to lie in the fields where they grow, or driven to seek such markets only as the farmer's team could reach. The cotton crop, which brings to our shores annually nearly half a billion dollars of foreign gold, would be but a fruitless burden on southern winds if there were no railways to carry it to the seaboard. We take from our mines and forests and factories $20,000,000,000 each year, but without means of transportation these costly products would be worthless junk.—*Leslie's Weekly.*

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The Man With a Job*

By WIGHTMAN D. ROBERTS

Chapter I.

I'VE got a job. The socialists tell me it is slavery, but still they want me to put it in, along with all other jobs, and make a sort of "jack pot" belonging to everybody. This, they say, is the way of escape from my bondage and over into the Land of Promise just beyond. The speakers and writers on this subject all have jobs, too. Also the politicians who tell me about my condition and how to throw off the yoke. And as they talk and while reading about it, I get hot and am, for a little while, ready to go the whole hog.

I can see the many dark corners in my own life. I can see them in the lives of others—the boss even, everybody in fact. While the speakers are speaking and as I read in the socialists' books and papers, without any opposing facts before me at the time, the dark corners look still darker. And when I hear and read about the truly deplorable condition of others who have jobs, the corners grow terribly black. Somehow the blackness increases with the telling and the distance between me and the places these terrible conditions are said to exist.

Anyhow, every condition and all jobs look very dark and gray as compared to the vision of universal mercy and justice which, though almost within reach, we never get our hands on. For I have noticed that our notions of what ought to be no more stay in the same place than we do. We come up to where the beautiful vision seemed to stand yesterday, but it has moved on. Only my job is left.

Things should be changed. I admit that. When I look out upon this fine, round, comfortable planet we live upon and see the enormous spaces where mankind can live and love and work but where nobody lives; when I look through the crowded cities of the world where too many are trying to live and, consequently, merely exist and hate and fight, and when I am told that throwing my job into the jack pot is going to bring a millennium, the act of thinking breeds a "conservative streak" in me. Deciding between a job in hand and a vision promised does that.

I guess I am not by myself in this way of thinking. I can see this same "conservative streak" in the socialist leaders themselves, and in the politicians—just as soon as they get jobs. Like them, I am willing to cast a few crumbs on the water, but not the whole loaf. It may be too many days before it comes back. Meanwhile I've got to live. And the wife and babies tug at me, too. I've had that feeling the "morning after"—the morning after a socialist rally.

I have noticed that the "leaders" never vote away their jobs. Neither do the politicians, nor the writers. On the contrary, the more they "lead," the more they "politick," the more they "write," the greater their numbers and the more we are beset to "throw off the yoke."

Another thing: The leaders and writers and politicians are able to tell me a great deal more about what is now than about what's *going to* be under the new program. And I can see now that if all of us are going

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to put our jobs into the pot, they are going to be the very last to come across with theirs. Meanwhile we'll have to pay their salaries—out of the "jack pot," I suppose.

But after they come in, if they do, what will they do then? There won't be any societies to organize; there won't be any "dark corners" to speak about or write about; there won't be any "down-trodden humanity" for the politicians to appeal to—and get votes from; there won't be any "soulless corporations" to denounce. For, if what little of the program they have told me about is carried out, a universal working schedule will be established by law, in the making of which not I nor my group nor any other group will have any voice; nor will we have any control over it afterwards.

So, as I see it, there won't be anything for them to do that they know *how* to do. But as I don't see much prospect for this kind of a millennium, it looks as if they have picked out jobs that are going to last a long time—as long as there are any *regular* jobs in existence for them to exist upon.

Chapter II

Yes, I've got a job. But if I am indeed in slavery, I want to be liberated. A part of the program of liberation as told me by the socialist leaders, is to divide up all the property and make it common to all; or, rather, to transfer it all to the State which shall be called the "Social Commonwealth." This is the word, not "jack pot" as I have been calling it. That instead of my job being held by appointment from some person or corporation, and because of my capacity to fill it, it will belong to the new "commonwealth" or government. But that, along with everybody else, I am to be given a chance to get it back again or another one of some kind. Also that in addition to my own wages, I am to be given a part of what my employer before had got in the way of profits.

The first time you look at it, this looks fine. I thought it was simply tip top. But when they told me that no person or group of persons were going to be allowed to take too much from the common fund, I wondered who or what was going to decide about it.

In the first place I don't think it is honest to take what a man has worked for and saved up and divide up among a lot of dead-beats that I know, even if it is done through the government. And then I doubt if I would want to take even a double share in this redistribution, unless I had elbow room to choose something *better still*. For I have never seen any more real satisfaction among people with five-thousand-dollar incomes than among people with only five-hundred-dollar incomes.

Yes, I'd want a chance to get something better if there was anything better. I've got a pretty wide range of choice now. I would not want to be cut off, in a socialist State, from the possibility of using my wits for something better.

As I think soberly over these matters, another question comes up. As things stand now, I can quit working for one man or one corporation if he or it can not be brought to agreement, and there are a thousand others to deal with, one at a time, until I get what I want. Somewhere among them I can get another job. But if there is only *one*—the "commonwealth"—to apply to if my job is unsatisfactory, where shall I turn?

What if I *do* have a vote as to the kind of a job I want and the

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wages I am to have, what chance have I? Ten thousand or ten million to one! My ballot—one flake in a great snowstorm—where will it go? Some of my own immediate friends might help me by voting with me. Perhaps not. It looks to me now that I would be a mighty small stockholder in a mighty big company, and I have heard what sometimes happens to minority stockholders.

It is true that I might decide to be reasonable and bide my time about the change I wanted. But suppose a lot of young fellows over here and another lot over there wouldn't be reasonable. What if they got mad at the "commonwealth's" foreman and, declaring that the "world owed them a living," quit work? Would the State let them starve? According to the "leaders," there is to be no more starvation. Would the socialist State give their jobs to others, and send them off somewhere to cool and be fed at the public expense? So far, the job I've got looks better than ever.

Suppose that when everything is divided up or, as the "leaders" say, there is governmental ownership of everything, the whole business of production begins to slow down. The everybody-nobody management in full charge, who is to speed it up and what is to stand back of him? Force? That's the word that brought millions to America—Force; *government* force. I look for trouble this way.

Also I am not at all sure that the liberal allowance promised me in the dividing-up process is going to last. Possibly the certain knowledge that we are to be weighed out just so much and no more will take the ginger out of us. It looks to me like it would. It is pretty certain that everybody would turn politician.

Now I like some—yes, most of the "leaders" I have seen and heard. I like them better than the kind of salvation they want me to accept. But it does strike me that if the war-clubs now being used against the capitalistic classes are to be carried into the new socialistic state, everything won't be peaceful and harmonious there. They may still want to be leaders there. Or will they undergo baptism into the new religion of humanity and come down into the ranks with the rest of us? I rather suspect they will want to be committeemen or managers in the new co-operative government. And since they are spending their time now liberating us workingmen (and living on us), I suppose we'll have to vote them into government jobs. But hold! We'll ALL have government jobs, come to think of it. Then who is going to have the best ones?

The more I figure on this business, the more I am decided to hold on to the job I've got. I am willing to take another man's job away from him if I am better qualified to fill it than he is, but I wouldn't want to be part of a government that, *solely by might*, takes it away. I am willing to exchange my labor or my wits, if honest, for another man's property—his money, goods or chattels; but I would be afraid of a government that would confiscate these things and deny him the right to have *anything* of his own. I would not feel contented with any job given me by such a government. I would not want to live under a government where every quality of ambition, personal and for one's own family and friends, is reduced to the dead, unchanging level of equality.

The idea that the great mass of us wage laborers must remain what we are and where we are, and that there is not "room at the top" for

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one in a thousand of us is gloomy enough, if it is true. And it is true that somebody must do the world's drudgery, now and forevermore. But so far as I have been informed, the proposed social State will not attempt to abolish drudgery.

As a matter of fact there will always be bottom as well as top rounds on the social and industrial ladder, and one generation of us after another mounts from the lower to the higher. Each round may seem hard enough in itself, but is a step forward. I'm not kicking if the ladder stands where I can get on, but I'm not going to kick it out from beneath in the hope that I will remain floating in mid-air.

Chapter III

Now you may wonder that we men who have jobs think any such thoughts as I have put down in these pages. But we do. In our give-and-take arguments among ourselves and, especially, in the "morning after" when the "conservative streak" shows up, one after another of all these things come out to an extent that would surprise you. It does greatly surprise the "leaders" who look upon us as poor dumb, dull cattle "under the yoke"—some of them do. Of course all of us would like to know that the danger of starvation is going to be banished, what next? How long would it be before this promised perpetual peace turned into deadly boredom? to new discontents for the old? What are the bold, self-reliant spirits among us to do when we get tired of having all our employments regulated by the managers and committeemen of the social State, with nothing higher up to struggle for?

No, no, my fellows: I'm a man with a job; but I'm NOT a man with a hoe, bowed by the weight of centuries and gazing on the ground. I stand upright on my OWN hard-won round of the ladder, with power of choice and a determination to use it. And I'm not going to kick the ladder out from under my feet.

The right to think, to know, and to utter is the dearest of all liberties. Without this right, there can be no liberty to any people; with it there can be no slavery.—*Wendell Phillips.*

Heart Against Head in Business

BUSINESS, after all, has some sordid aspects, and all of us at times find it in line with our duty to make decisions which for personal reasons we would rather not make. Everywhere there is stiff competition, a sort of warfare which has its temptations for the exercise of our most selfish and least admirable traits. Sometimes I think of business as a constant battle between heart influence and head influence. If the heart influence is too much, we may do an injustice to our business and to our stockholders. If the head influence is too much, we may do an injustice to the individual employe, or to our honorable competitors, or to the public. What we must have at all times is a fine mixture of both heart and head influence to the end that we will serve best those whom we work for as well as those who work for us, and those whom we serve, and by whose patronage we exist—the public.—*Hugh Chalmers.*

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Ignore the Demagogue; Appeal to the Man

By T. L LEWIS

Ex-President Miners' Union

EVERY informed thinking man sees not alone the threatened dangers of but the damage now being wrought by the propaganda of radicalism in this country. But so few are informed.

The threatened danger is that the uninformed, led by self-seeking, dishonest demagogues, will be swept off their feet by their specious argument and, thus, the country will be swept into social chaos. The present damage is that of what we call "social unrest"—strikes, destruction of property, loss of wages, a spirit of law defiance, and, worst of all, distrust and class-hatred. And as thinking men, we admit both the threatened danger and the present damage. But what are we doing about it?

There can be but one answer to the foregoing question. Informed thinking men must make it their business to teach the uninformed thinking man that along the way the demagogues are trying to lead him lies madness. The radical leaders are speaking to him every day in lurid page and with poisoning tongue; give him cool reasoning and self-convincing facts as antidotes. If the threatened dangers become facts in this country, the blame will be upon the employers of labor for neglecting their duty to inform their workmen; if the present damage is suffered to continue, the blame will fall in the same place.

Where the press is free, and every man able to read, all is safe. . . . Our liberty depends on the freedom of the press, and that cannot be limited without being lost.—*Thomas Jefferson.*

The Golden Rule

Do as you would be done by.—Persian.

Do not that to a neighbor which you would take ill from him.—Grecian.

One should seek for others the happiness one desires for oneself.—Buddhist.

What you would not wish done to yourself do not do unto others.—Chinese.

He sought for others the good he desired for himself. Let him pass on.—Egyptian.

All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.—Christian.

The true rule of life is to guard and do by the things of others as they do by their own.—Hindu.

Let none of you treat his brother in a way he himself would dislike to be treated.—Mohammedan.

The law imprinted on the hearts of all men is to love the members of society as themselves.—Roman.

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Social Tendencies

Part V.—What Society Is

By W. T. BETHUNE

HOWEVER, I believe our enquiry has demonstrated that "Society"—meaning by this term the source of the superior intelligence that is popularly believed to direct the social actions of men through the agency of the State—is not the whole body of the people nor any individual man or group of men. It must be, then, something outside of man. And as we cannot conceive of any material thing having an intelligence superior to man, it would seem to follow that this mysterious thing, "Society," must be spirit—an "immaterial intelligent substance"—(whatever that may be), popularly imagined as pervading the whole universe. Of course we could go still further and present the materialistic argument as proof that spirit exists only in the imagination and deduce from this that "Society" is a fixed idea, a concept, an image in the mind, an abstraction or a shadow. But this would be needlessly opening up the endless question of causation. By demonstrating that "Society" is something outside of man, we have found a resting place in following up causes, an answer sufficiently definite for our purposes.

Irrespective of what this thing outside of man is, irrespective of whether "Society" is spirit or shadow, the State, as its agent, is today what it has always been in the past, it is a religious institution. And our present State religion is worship of an invisible, immaterial thing we call "Society," in contra-distinction from the State religion—such as the worship of some other invisible, immaterial thing called the Supreme Being, or God, or the worship of some invisible person outside of man, called a god. For what we have designated as our present State religion is based on the same three primary postulates upon which religion rests. The religions that have lived and died, the religions that exist today—some old and dying, some young and growing—including this youngest of all religions ("Society" worship) which for lack of a better name we will call majorityism, are but subdivisions of the all-inclusive term, Religion.

The three primary postulates upon which religion rests are:

I. That a superior intelligence exists outside of man.

II. That it is man's duty to obey, to conform his actions to the will of this superior intelligence.

III. That the will of this superior intelligence is always made known to man through some special agent, never made known to man directly.

Our present State religion (Majorityism) conforms to these three primary postulates. For we have demonstrated that it affirms:

I. That there exists a superior intelligence outside of man, denominated "Society."

II. That it is man's duty to obey, to conform his actions to the will of this superior intelligence—"Society."

III. That the will of this superior intelligence is made known to man through its special agent—the State.

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The points of difference between religions are secondary—merely different ways of expressing and conforming to these three fundamental postulates of Religion.

Believers in personal gods naturally expect them to have personal representatives on earth—personal agents through whom they direct the actions of men. Thus certain persons come to be recognized as the special agents through whom personal gods made known their will to men. These persons—demi-gods, popes, kinds, etc.—were recognized as the legitimate agents of these personal gods because of their supposed divine parentage or descent from demi-gods, or because they were popularly accepted as being, by some other process, singled out by the gods as their special representatives on earth.

The so-called Christian religion is typical of all religions that look to a personal god as the source of authority. When Christianity was the State religion popes and kings were the persons chosen by the "Supreme Being," sometimes called God, as his agents. The proof of their legitimacy as God's agents was their descent from demi-gods, or divine appointment. All Christians agreed so far. But they divided up into conflicting factions (churches) supporting different individuals, each claiming to be the true agent of God. And the genuineness of their claims was always settled by an appeal to physical force. All disputes over the right to rule, or of succession, were settled by appeal to arms—might was right. God was always on the winning side. This physical force test of the "Justice" of a cause was, at one time, even applied to disputes between individuals, who met in hand-to-hand fight, and God gave strength, for the occasion, to the weak and made them victors if their cause was just. Trial by combat was the court of last resort—an appeal to God.

God made known his will to his personal agents either directly, by implanting his will in their minds (inspiration) or indirectly through some accepted oracle that was consulted by his agents. This oracle was generally some functionary of the State church—the religious faction of which the ruler was the head.

With us belief in a personal god (God) has given place to belief in an impersonal god ("Society"). Majorityism is now the State religion and Christianity takes second place—it is now a private religion. It takes second place, for while you may have a private religion, it must not conflict with the superior State religion.

Believers in this impersonal god ("Society") naturally look for an impersonal agent through which it makes known its will to men. We now recognize the institution we call the State as the impersonal agent of "Society;" reverence for the person (king, pope, etc.) as the sacred agent of God has given place to reverence for this institution as the sacred agent of "Society."

This institution has a physical body, built up of a more or less numerous group of individuals, whose actions, as a governing body, are supposed to be directed and controlled by the impersonal god, "Society." So far all marjorityists are agreed. But just as Christians divide up into opposing churches in disputes over who was the true agent of God, so do majorityists divide up into opposing parties in disputes over what is the will of "Society." And majorityists settle their disputes, even petty

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quarrels between individuals, by an appeal to their god ("Society") through the ballot-box—a more economical way than trial by combat, of deciding on which side lies the greatest physical force.

The leaders of political parties are the priest-hood of majorityism, and the political party in power is the State church.

We, as a progressive nation, flatter ourselves that we have separated the church from the State, when in reality they are inseparable. We have mistaken a change in form for a change in relation. The State being a religious institution, its evolution has kept pace with the evolution of Religion. It grows out of Religion and cannot live separated from Religion.

The rule of kings and popes was doomed and Christianity ceased to be the State religion when the mass of the people ceased to believe in a personal god and in the divine right of kings and priests to rule over them.

The popular belief today is that all men are equal before the ruling social Intelligence, called "Society"; that men, in the mass, are the source of this Intelligence, and that its will is made known to the individual through the State, and the present-day priesthood of majorityism rules the nation because the people believe these political priests are the servants of a social Intelligence that has its source in the people as a whole.

But our inquiry has already demonstrated that this intelligence ("Society") is something outside of man. We have found that the ballot-box process does not separate social and anti-social intelligence from individuals and concentrate these intelligences in distinct groups of voters.

We can no more separate a man from his social intelligence than we can separate him from his physical powers. Nor can we express the volume of social intelligence in terms of human units. We have no warrant for assuming that the greatest volume of social intelligence is embodied in the group of men made up of the largest number of individuals, as we have warrant for assuming that the greatest volume of physical force is so embodied. For physical force differs from social intelligence in that it is of the same nature and is exactly the same in its manifestations in every individual, and it can be increased in volume by addition, i. e., by combining the separate units of this same force in one body so as to act together. On the other hand, social intelligence is of a different nature in each individual; it manifests itself in each man in a way peculiar to him; and it cannot be increased by addition, for no two individuals have a social intelligence of the same nature. In this sense every individual is unique; he is a law unto himself. This is why the individual is never satisfied with the social order decreed by the State. This is why the "justice" established by this agent, supposed to be directed by the combined social intelligence of men, never harmonizes with the individual's idea of social justice.

The social units (men) cannot be used by the State in building up a social body, as a mason would use bricks in building a house. The bricks are all alike, they are passive factors in the hands of the mason. Any one of them will fit into any part of the building as well as another, and the form the house takes is in response to the intelligence of the mason. But in the social organism no two social units are alike. Each

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unit has a place and function, in the social body, all his own, and the intelligence directing him is peculiar to himself. The desire to find his place and to perform his function is inherent in every social unit. And nothing short of unrestricted, free expression, in social action, of individual personality will accord with the individual's sense of social justice.

It seems to me that the confusion of thought relative to the source of social intelligence springs from a failure to clearly recognize that man is both an animal and a social unit, and that the conflict of interests between men are conflicts between them as animals, not as social units. Every man, as a social unit, being unique, in that he has an intelligence and a place and function in the social body all peculiar to himself, makes it impossible for men to have conflicting social interests, either as individuals or as groups. Every social unit having the desire and feeling the impulse to fill his place and perform his function, there can be no disputes between them over place and function. Man, the social unit, is to the social organism what the cell, the life unit, is to the animal organism. The social law is Liberty—unrestricted, free expression of every individual's social personality.

But men, as animals, have conflicting interests. Man, in this sense, is to his fellows what the individual wolf is to the pack. He exerts the same kind of physical force, he has the same desires, the same impulses to get and consume the same food, etc., as his fellows. Like the wolves, men can increase the volume of physical force they have in common by addition, so as to apply it more effectively in securing food, etc., by production or by robbing other men. The animal is not disturbed by any question of justice between him and his fellows. The brute law is might—physical force.

That all governing bodies are predatory in their nature and are used by the men who control them as a means of preying upon and exploiting other men, so as to satisfy their animal desires, is abundantly proved by their actions. Most of the activities of governing bodies are centered around property. The laws and rules they formulate, from the Senate down to the smallest corporation, are a means of controlling property rights; means by which the good things, which play an all-important part in satisfying man's animal desires, are directed into the hands of those in control of the governing bodies. What are our elections but demonstrations of potential physical force; force at the command of the high priests in each faction of the State religion, through which the leaders of the majority faction get control of the governing body? And this conflict between animals for power to rule over each other is believed to be a struggle for social justice! Brutes devouring each other in the name of "Society"—a sub-division of the greater spirit or shadow we call "humanity," on whose altar the rulers of Europe are today pouring out the life blood of millions of human beings.

(To be continued)

To limit the press is to insult the nation; to prohibit the reading of certain books is to declare the inhabitants to be either fools or slaves.—*Helvetius.*

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The Golden Rule Applied to Business

THE following is taken from The Houghton *Line*, a trade publication of E. F. Houghton & Co., Philadelphia:

I remember once our sales department came to me and asked me to represent them before the Southern Freight Classification Committee, in a protest against what our folks considered was an unjust classification. I asked for the facts and arguments. They gave them to me. I read them over, and I said: "I don't see any argument in here which would influence me if I were a railroad man."

A railroad man is working for the railroad. It is the railroad's duty to serve the public, but it is every railroad man's duty to remember that the public are also his stockholders. I asked them what argument I could give the railroad that would be worth while from the railroad man's idea. They could furnish me with no such argument, and I refused to appear before the Committee.

The next year, when the Classification Committee again met at Atlantic City, our folks came to me with what they supposed was a terrible grievance. We had lost all of our trade because of the unjust classification, and the people who formerly bought from us were buying tallow locally; not that the tallow was better, but it was so much cheaper when you took into consideration the excessive freight charges. And I said to them: "Here is an argument for the railroad.

"The railroad has lost business. They collect no freight on the local tallow at all. They are mutually interested with us in a lower classification. They can benefit their stockholders by such a classification." And forthwith I appeared before the committee at Atlantic City, and the committee being composed of railroad men—good railroad men—wise railroad men—saw the point at once. They didn't detain me 10 minutes, and the request was granted.

But while I was only 10 minutes doing my little turn before the committee, I sat in that committee room pretty nearly three hours waiting for my case to be called, and I was impressed and amazed at the general attitude of every man who had a case before the committee. Each one was protesting against an individual injustice to himself. He wanted the railroad to do something which would enable him as an individual to beat out his competitors, which would be to his personal individual advantage, just as if the railroads existed for the personal advantage of any individual concern. Not one single argument did I hear which presented to these railroad men some advantage for the railroad. It is as if a man would come to you and want to buy goods on which he knew you were going to lose money, merely that he might make more for himself.

And that is the general attitude of the public towards public service corporations in general and railroads in particular.

The Department of Agriculture spends millions in aiding the farmer while the Department of Commerce and Labor spends millions in interfering with business.

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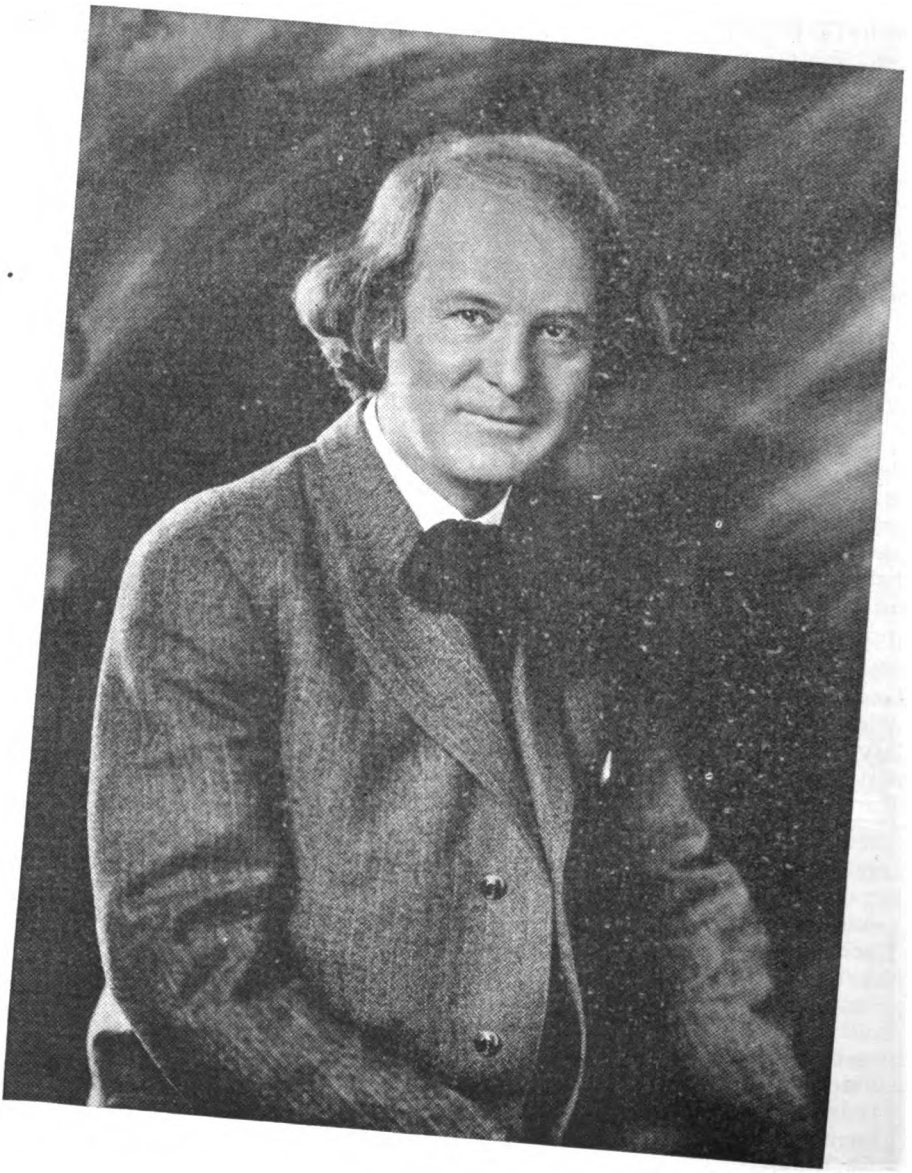

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Loving Remembrance of

My Friend and Mentor

ELBERT HUBBARD

June 19, 1856 May 7, 1915

SAGE THINKER PHILOSOPHER

His influence on his time ranks him

with the foremost thinkers of all

TIME.

Payne · Ingersoll · Emerson

and

HUBBARD

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The Circle of the Labor Movement*

By J. K. TURNER

Chapter XV.

Solonism

FROM the year 33 to 363 A. D., the date of the suppression of the common table by the Council of Laodicea, labor organizations were economic rather than religious, but they used the guise of religion to secure rights to continue their associations, which were seriously threatened by the Senate.

In the year 33 A. D., we find that the great Society of Jerusalem had 3,000 members. After the crucifixion, a reaction of the common people set in. There was already a secret society of which Jesus had been elected "kurios," or presiding officer. They resolved to bring out into the open the principles for which they had organized,—the salvation of the people from the cruelties of the dominating power of money, greed, and royalty.

Luke, in his history of the Acts of the Apostles, gives detailed account of this. Luke was also a presiding officer of one of the organizations, and later made pilgrimages with Paul, advocating and building up the principles of their organizations. Those who joined gave all their possessions, which were distributed among the members. The organization had a board of directors composed of business men. But troubles came by the breaking of their bonds of secrecy, and the parading of their principles to the world, and a board of business men was appointed of which Stephen was the chairman.

Stephen was an Asian-Greek, and he soon rectified their difficulties. He regulated the distribution of food at the common table. This brought upon them the vengeance of the speculators in provisions in Jerusalem, and was the cause of the rebellion against Stephen and his committee, and finally encompassed his destruction.

It can readily be seen that this attack upon the speculators was an economic one, and that its object was the institution of an improved scheme of political economy for which Jesus and Stephen suffered martyrdom.

The history of this organization is but an example of thousands of others which existed all over Rome and her dependencies, including Judea.

In the Isle of Cyprus, there was a union of agricultural laborers, and similar organizations existed in great numbers everywhere. Macedonia had many of these societies at the time that Paul was busy in Phillipi, doing his evangelical work.

We also read of the unions of deacons. The deacons of the common table were not only waiters but menials, but their work as waiters was the trade under which they were organized.

During the early Christian period, and before the crucifixion, the Dionysan Therapeutae (or stewards) were numerous. They were unions of working people, organized for the purpose of assisting each other to obtain food. They existed in Egypt, Jerusalem, and Asia Minor.

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The Hetaerae, similar organizations to the Therapeutae, flourished as trade unions during the time of Christ, and assisted Paul in his evengelizing journeys all over Asia Minor. They were organized in all trades and professions and were made celebrated by Pliny, who, seeing the advantages to the hard-pressed workers in the province of Bithynia, Asia Minor, where he was governor, endeavored to obtain permission from the emperor, Trajan, to organize them, but was refused, and as governor he had to persecute them because they had turned Christian.

In Pergamus, Cyprus, Attica, and Macedonia, they were organized and in flourishing condition in the building trades. In Lydia and Thyateira the coral workers were organized, making little gods, goddesses and images which had a ready sale among the pagans. Later Christianity, protesting against image worship, caused the war of the iconoclasts.

Independent of Christianity, there were hundreds of synods. A synodos was a brotherhood of working people having an economical object of mutual help.

Organizations of working people, devoted to a saviour, were numerous in Ephesus, Athens, Smyrna, Philippi, Thessalonica, and numberless cities in Asia Minor, where industries flourished. Many times they chose as their ideal presiding divinity a mythical creature, supposed to be forever on guard, watching the interests of their peculiar trade. This was the ancient origin of saviours and messiahs, and lasted until superseded by the Saviour of our era.

The terrible condition of the laboring classes has been shown in previous chapters. They obtained great comfort from the worship of their chosen gods and goddesses. There was sometimes jealous rivalry among the dignitaries to be held in this esteem by the common people, and Nero is said to have assumed himself a divinity and ordered a shrine erected to himself, but this was treated with abhorrence.

The stories of these saviours or "soters" is frequently told in the histories of these organizations. The down-trodden, tortured, impoverished and degraded masses, were constantly in quest of an immortal powerful enough to rescue them.

One of the most powerful of the saviours was Dionysos Neos, worshiped by the entire membership of the vast international organization of artists. All classes of business was represented by these unions that worshiped an imagined saviour.

At Magnesia, and a number of the Asiatic towns, there were unions of coral workers. Luke speaks of them as goldsmiths at the time that Paul was preaching at Ephesus. He was attacked violently by them because the new faith repudiated the worship of images.

It is very interesting to note the shipping business as it was conducted by the unions under the Solonic law. There was a special clause providing for the people who obtained their living in boating commerce. As a result, there were great numbers of unions in Greece, Macedonia, the islands, Asia Minor, and Italy, where the principal part of that class of business was conducted. All were organized, from the lowest class of workers, the longshoremen, to the highest.

At the time of Christ, the workers in the cotton, linen, and wool trades were also organized and in flourishing condition at Hierapolis,

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Philadelphia, Ephesus, Corcycus, in Celicia, Lycia, and Phrygia. In fact, nearly all of Phrygia was a hotbed of organized trades, and was later the cause of Diocletian's massacre.

We also find records of the existence of organizations among the grocers, in connection with the shipping business, for the furnishing of groceries to the people necessitated active commerce on the seas. There were also oxdrivers' organizations, and we find them spoken of as prominent men, and that their judgment was far in advance of their superiors.

While it is true that, following the customs of the times, the organizations were to some extent religious, the sole idea for which they organized was to better each other's circumstances and salvation from their bitter struggle for existence.

There was a great system of organized trades in the building lines. As early as Solomon, we find powerful organizations of masons. Later, at the time of the Apostles, they appear again splendidly organized. At Pisidia, where Paul was repudiated by the synagogue, an occult organization opened its doors to him and his companions. His intercessors proved to be the unions of the building trades. We find that these unions existed all over Asia Minor at that time.

In all parts of the ancient world, these secret societies existed, and were so secret in many instances that no record is kept to show what trade or profession was organized. They were known as "initiates" or "mystic brotherhoods," and were very numerous, and many of them existed in the form of brotherhoods for ages because of their great secrecy in spite of the law against them. They existed away back of the Apostolic age. The valley of the Meander where was located Magnesia, one of the important industrial cities, had many of these democratic trades unions. They voted in a strictly political fashion and the emperors, state governors, and other politicians did all in their power to prevent them from voting.

The hives of organized industries, known to have existed in Phrygia and other cities of Anatolia, embrace the dyers, fullers, woolworkers, lapidaries, carpet weavers, silversmiths, tanners, and potters. These were the trades included in the law of Solon and are more ancient than the civilization among which they are found, antedating earliest Christianity.

At Thyateira, one of the cities of the seven churches, there was a union of potters which was very powerful and contributed to the immense activity of the city. Thousands of organized workmen were engaged in this trade and at the tanning and dressing of leather.

The shoemakers in Apameia are worthy of mention, for here we have evidence of the fact that the Christians did much teaching among the economic unions of these ancient trades and had great influence upon the future of the organizations. In the city of Apameia there was a street called shoemakers' street, the various trades of the city being appointed to special streets. The shoemakers were thoroughly organized into guilds, although the real guilds were not created until the Solonic unions were destroyed by the Christian edicts of 363, and finally exterminated in 412, after which time the true guilds came into existence with their petty bosses and semi-slavery and helped to usher in the feudal age which continued for 1,000 years.

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All labor unions of antiquity were organized for economic reasons to assist each other in obtaining a living. In A. D. 39, at the time of the martyrdom of Stephen and the conversion of Paul, there was a secret union in Cyzicus, Phrygia, engaged in the struggle for existence in the same manner as the trades unions today. The same is true in Italy and Rome, where the stonecutters were thoroughly organized. At Magnesia and Smyrna there were unions of female silversmiths. There were also organizations of coin workers, proving that the workers in the mints at that time were organized.

One of the most lucrative branches of business was that of the dyers, commonly known at that time as the purple dyers, although the principle color in which they worked was red. Lydia, who was converted to Christianity by Paul at Phillipi, was a purple dyer and a member and business agent of the union at Thyateira.

The dyers of Hierapolis, Thyateira, Smyrna, and the principal towns, were under a powerful organization of the great Solonic law. They were a factor in the industrial scheme as far back as the time of Paul, who converted them to Christianity.

At Heraklea and Pisidia, there were powerful organizations of dyers in early Christian times. The people of Phrygia were celebrated for their industry and for their love of loose amusements. The world was deeply indebted to them for their enterprises, mechanical and agricultural. Apameia was celebrated for being a hive of industries, nearly all of which were organized. The Roman Conquests overturned much of the industrial life of this and the surrounding region; after the crucifixion a terrible earthquake destroyed several cities along the Lycus and Meander.

Important unions of woolworkers existed at Flaviapolis in Cilicia. The trades unions took the Christians in and endorsed their tenets, and changed from pagan to Christian worship, giving to Christianity their temples for meeting places. Laodicea, a city on the Lycus, was also a center of the wool industry and carried on an enormous manufacture of woolen goods as far back as the time of the Apostles.

Organizations of slaves existed in many of the cities of Phrygia about this time. The ancient poor were in many respects better off before their emancipation, for a man can generally be depended on to care for his property. Afterwards when the church at the council of Laodicea, destroyed this organization, the poor were obliged to feed on charity, and charitable organizations—which had never existed before—and the orphantrophia came into existence.

Their unions at Delphi were mostly organized after the model of an eranos. Caesar's conspiracy worked great damage to the success of the organizations at Delos and it became the most renowned slave mart of the time. During those conquests there was a relentless disposition to drive both slaves and freedmen to misery and death. The law followed them everywhere, crippling their Solonic rights,—they were compelled to have the consent of their masters,—they must have a curator who was a potent factor over them being a lord on a small scale,—they could not meet more than twice a month.

Then there were the thiasoi of the immortals, and they were numerous enough to be important. They believed in a life beyond this. They were philosophers and at their reunions, when sitting around the com-

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mon table, their conversation turned to the realms of the unknown and they speculated on the future, and believed much along the lines of the religion of the Messiah.

Gypsies were organized in those days. They existed from a high antiquity, down to the time of Constantine. The rag-pickers of those days were the origin of all gypsy tribes, which have since spread all over the world.

The Roman collegia, trades unions, laid the foundation of our seminaries. They were the first to establish schools that bear any resemblance to those of the present. They were early established in Britain and their influence in founding the Anglo-Saxon system of learning was enormous. Greed, however, led them in the direction of the guilds which form they later assumed. As guilds they existed in the Roman cities of Britain through the Middle Ages.

But this old dispensation was broken up by an edict of the council of Laodicea in 363 A. D., which forbade the members to enjoy the common table that had been ordained 300 years before by St. Peter. This was the death blow which destroyed the economic incentive of labor organizations. The council also forbade psalm singing. In fact it gave the death stroke to Christianity in favor of a grasping, jealous priestcraft and its church. This privilege of meeting together in unions and enjoying the common meal was a part of the jus coeundi of Solon.

Trades unionism sank deeper into secrecy and was hunted out with spies. It nevertheless outlived its persecutions, for there were many good men among the common people and the fathers who protested.

Living in socialism, under the communal code, did not contribute to the wealth of the provision speculators. The treasurers of the organizations could buy at wholesale prices from the producers. This was intolerable to the provision speculators. Suppression struck them in 412 and this was the last of the true trades unions of the ancients.

Out of it grew the mediaeval guilds. We find that from a decent and honorable life under the beneficent laws of their unions, they were reduced to the lowest as a result of these cruel edicts. The result was the creation of the guilds of the priests and petty bosses, driving them for profit. Societies, whose members had for a thousand years been self-sustaining and prosperous under the Solonic laws, were now broken up. The trades guilds were derived partly from the collegia of artisans in ancient Rome and partly from the monastic orders.

(To Be Continued)

"A business-man is one who sells the goods."

You would feel insulted, Mr. Workingman, if someone told you that the ranks of labor were made up of "horse-thieves" and "scoundrels." Why not adjust your mind as to employers, corporations, and even millionaires? They are not all "crooked," "exploiters," or even "idle rich." You bought some "hot chestnuts" from the Italian at the corner. When you found a bad one, you didn't throw the lot away, did you?—*R. R. Wire and Signal.*

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The Federal Trade Commission.

By John Paul May

REACTIONARY influences have captured the ammunition of progress with such completeness that even the terms by which we have come to know the controversial hosts of civilization are upside down. We call the radical a conservative and the conservative a radical. Simply because the name of radicalism is applied to the age-worn method of competition, we applaud its advocates; while the true radical, he who preaches combination and co-operation, is erroneously dubbed the conservative.

A deification of Chaos is the Worshipful One of "free and equal competition." The true social evolutionist is a heretic who would go beyond the past to talk in terms of a unity rather than in terms of units. Instead of conflict, his is the gospel of co-operation. He is the true interpreter of economic forces that reached their highest preliminary stage of rapid development in America after the Civil War and in Europe after the welding of an empire by Bismarck. Their highest practical co-operative efficiency was attained in Germany under Kaiser Wilhelm; and every reactionary influence, every disciple of the old school of anarchistic competition, is today allied against this practical creed of humanism with its scientific spirit of social betterment.

In America, this science of combination would have begun by now to show its benefits but for demagogy and selfish politics. It is inevitable that today we witness the competitive principle run amuck in a wholesale mutiny against all authority, reasonable as well as unreasonable. Instead of the ideal of the "social good," we hear expressed the ideal of "class benefits"; and instead of legislation being enacted with a completed society as its end we find in "class legislation" the natural climax of a competitive or "class" system.

The Federal trade commission is the best illustration of this statement. It is simply a piece of state machinery designed to legally maintain the theory of highway robbery in small business. To it Congress appropriated $300,000 a year for "running expenses," besides $50,000 for salaries. With the solitary purpose of perpetuating the standard of profits for the man with wasteful methods, the United States is paying a minimum of $350,000 a year. The Democratic party has followed the idea of individualism so closely that Thomas Jefferson, were he to return to this age of Billy Sunday, would be shocked by the wanderlust of his child. "All men are created free and equal," said Jefferson. "All men are created with the free and equal right to slug one another," declares the administration. There is, of course, as wide a difference in the meaning of these two doctrines as the sun is unlike the catacomb.

In the guise of legal enactments, the Democratic party seeks to crucify humanism and to evoke a government administering to a host of innumerable competing units; this, too, despite the fact that all history tells convincingly of the results to "a house divided against itself." Adopting the competitive principle that alone is responsible for the European war, the Democratic party now creates and pays dearly for a commission to maintain such conditions as will tend to prevent a get-together spirit. It puts $350,000 annually into the collection plates to memorialize the sanctity of waste.

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Instead of vainly, almost idiotically, endeavoring to stop the natural growth of big business, the Democratic party could better concern itself with an investigation of sales and purchases on the New York stock exchange. The bogey of this country is speculation, for speculation and its attendant evils alone are responsible for financial crises. An exchange of bonds and a rational market place for the nation is essential to the life of business as it is today constituted, but conspiracies to bull or bear the market are detrimental to it.

The program of the present Democratic party sounds very much like an incantation to the god of littleness. That this party has a holy horror of the universe is shown by the fact that the Federal trade commission bill discriminates against some corporations simply because they are large and have $5,000,000 capital or more. These are required to have an agent in Washington upon whom the process of the commission may be served.

When it comes to the matter of interlocking directorates, the same old horror of big combinations and reverence of small ones is again manifested in the fact that there may be interlocking directorates to a number unlimited among corporations with capital, surplus and undivided profits aggregating less than $1,000,000, but that no man can be a director of two or more corporations with capital, surplus and undivided profits aggregating more than $1,000,000.

Dealers are not forbidden to make price discriminations because of difference in grade, quality or quantity of commodities sold or to allow for difference in selling or transportation cost, or in good faith to meet the competition, but they are forbidden to sell any article of a grade equal to that of a competitor's article for a less sum than that for which his competitor sells it, even if that article can be manufactured by one dealer more economically than by his competitor.

In other words, if a corporation, because of the saving effected by an elimination of conflict between competing units, is able to retail an article for 50 cents, and make a profit on it, while some two-by-four firm, because of the waste in small things, cannot produce it for less than 65 cents, the article must go on the market for 65 cents from both corporation and firm, with the irritating result that the consumer pays 15 cents for the privilege of keeping the small men in business. He pays a tax of 15 cents for the right to maintain a system of perpetual motion in taxation. It is the "minimum theory" transferred from wage to price. Perhaps, under the law, this is legal and therefore respectable, but it is also wasteful, discriminatory, exploitive, unmoral and unfair. It is also not progressive. Outside of these few handicaps, it is a very good law.

Too Much and Too Little.

By Walter Sonneberg

WHY are the important industries of the United States practically at the mercy of its politicians? Primarily because, during the evolution of party government they have imposed upon the public the ideal of a political hierarchy where spoliation is made to appear an inevitable factor in the running of the machine.

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Too much politics in business and too little business in politics is a combination sufficient to kill the prosperity of any country irrespective of its tariff. There is scarcely a branch of industry in this country that fails to feel the kindly milching hand of the professional politician. From the regulation of railroads to the licensing of circuses, industrial ambition is blighted by political interference. Thanks to the sociological impertinence of the idly affluent and the affluently idle the class has been encouraged rather than discouraged in its parasitical procedure.

The business man has been too busy to bother himself in the matter. But now that the spirit of civic duty is awakening from its prolonged somnolence, it realizes a stupendous task in releasing the strangle hold that politics has gradually gained on business, and which it will only very reluctantly relax.

Politicians recognize no limits to their power and no obstacles to their purposes save those offered by an occasional flash of public indignation. Issues are befogged, character besmirched, important legislation juggled, serious debate heckled, press and pulpit misused, and police debauched to the sole end that their spoliation schemes may prosper. The hard won finance bill of last year was overdue a quarter of a century; stock exchange methods remain antiquated; our merchant marine is notoriously deficient, merely that a few politicians might fatten at the public trough.

The "New York World," editorially commenting upon the shipping bill then under discussion in Congress, declared that the "old-time Republicans will fight the measure to the limit because they never despair of getting their subsidy shovels into the treasury. We need the ships for the promotion of commerce today, and we may need them tomorrow as naval auxiliaries. Both purposes are legitimate, and to fight the bill because it does not smother a favored interest with public money is as stupidly selfish as it is shockingly unpatriotic."

Comment of this character applies to almost all important legislation. The issue is not fought out on its economic or social merit, but becomes at best a battleground for holding office or bid for re-election. The party out of power exerts itself to discredit the party in power. Every public question, whether it be the tariff, military appropriation, or conservation, is interminably wrangled over and artfully made the basis of some election possibilities. The counsel of disinterested economic sense is seldom heeded when there is a chance of playing party politics.

The cotton interests of the South, the wool and cattle interests of the West, and the manufacturing interests of the North, are not treated as economic entities; they are but pawns in the game of politics. Rivers are dredged and post-offices built not according to the judgment of engineers and architects, but to satisfy a demand for votes.

Votes rather than reason govern the hand that shakes the public crib.

Patronage is held paramount to performance by virtue of the party loyalty creed of the astute, officed, politician. Selfishness, local or state, is at the bottom of his power. If a new bridge is wanted he must be returned to office, irrespective of his merits as a statesman, else this local convenience must wait. Out of season and in season, to maintain his prestige, he must urge the cause of his henchmen for place. No one suffers more from this misdirected zeal or more keenly appreciates its

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follies than the President. "Take the postmastership of any of our large cities, for example," says President Wilson. "When one of these contests for appointment is on you would think, to hear the proponents and opponents of the candidates tell it, that the very foundations of the Republic will rock if one man is not appointed or if another man is. And yet I venture to say, the only concern of the great mass of the people over the postmastership of one city is that they get their mail promptly, and that the office is administered honestly and efficiently. Let me repeat: if patronage could be eliminated we should have a much broader, more patriotic, more capable and more useful set of legislators."

The disposition of the spoils is merely one disagreeable feature of government by proxy; unfortunately there are even worse attendant offenses against right and reason.

When politicians dominate the machinery of government, and violate the principles upon which it is founded, they can no longer be tolerated as a means to the end. They have then become the end, and their self-assumed prerogatives should be abrogated. Otherwise we must witness the ludicrous attempt of the tail to wag the dog.

Every citizen should have the right to enlist under whatever banner he chooses; but the choice would be exercised more intelligently and happily if the issues were less shrouded in ambiguous phraseology and less hampered by profitless recriminations. Neither Democrats nor Republicans control a monopoly of brains, ability or integrity. As to platforms, which supposedly represent the gauge of their prospective activities, consultation of the party year books divulges such a multitude of promises of similar tenor, that one would be at a loss, save on some minor points, to choose between them. Republicans criticize Democrats for a policy of extravagance which they inaugurated and carried on for years; the administration is strongly condemned for the Mexico troubles which are partly the legacy of a former inactive administration; to the Democrats the opposition points the finger of scorn for failing to better their program as to battleships and fortifications. The determining factor, however, upon which hangs the fate of the administration, is the condition of business throughout the country.

Col. George Harvey analyzes the late election returns, and invites us to consider the significance of the eastern revolt against the Administration: "Take the East. Hundreds of thousands of workingmen are out of employment and have been for months; manufacturing is curtailed by lack of demand for products; business is worse than dull; real estate is a drug; enterprise is estopped completely; reductions in dividends that have not yet been made are anticipated; incomes are shrinking; hateful economies are being enforced in shop, store, and household; nobody perceives a prospect of opportunity to make money; everybody feels poor and nearly everybody is poor."

. . . . "The important task confronting the Administration is to regain the confidence of the great industrial States, for the loss of which it is not wholly responsible, but without which, as we have clearly indicated above, it cannot hope to succeed itself." . . . "The plain fact is that the Administration lost the East because the people of the East had come to suspect, if not quite believe, that the Administration stood beween them and prosperity."

Connecticut made a complete turnover from five Democrats to five Republicans in Congress due to the effect of tariff reduction and indictment of New Haven Railway directors.

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Interpreted in terms of social service the defection means that a people are content to endure a corrupt system if it involves a temporary prosperity rather than suffer from a business depression incident to a clarifying of the economic atmosphere. Without holding a brief for either party it is quite obvious that the party out of power has done their utmost to discredit the party in power. How much of the present business depression is owing to adverse legislation, and how much to a "psychological" condition it would be difficult indeed to ascertain. This much we do know, that politicians are exercising an unwarranted and pernicious effect upon American Business, and that if the insidious growth of their power is allowed to remain unchecked, no other industry will flourish. Too long has this weed been permitted to spread; too often has it overawed legitimate enterprise. At every prospective change in administration its noxious fumes confuse the senses and cloud the action, clog the wheels of commercial activity, and throttle honest effort to exercise the franchise sanely.

Since we are so young in the art of self-government there may have been some excuse for permitting this noxious weed, parading as a friend of civilization, to choke down more worthy blossoms; now that its pernicious activity is made manifest, it remains but to ruthlessly root it out wherever and whenever it threatens the expression of the true purposes for which this government was founded.

Patriotism and civic pride if they be worthy the name, should be able to devise some means of placing the government unreservedly in the hands of its citizenry rather than in the hands of politicians who are more interested in the protected saloon than in an adequate and fair protected tariff; more concerned about returns from the white slave traffic than they are about proper railroad traffic returns.

Philadelphia, Pa.

SEEKING THE GOOD IN MEN

UNTIL recently it was the rule to establish a system of espionage in large corporations; this was continued regardless of the fact that it had long since proven to be an economic falsity.

With the advent of newer and broader minded men at the helm of industry there has developed a spirit of recognition of the interdependence of each man in the industry with the success of that industry, be he laborer or executive.

The reason disturbances were the rule and radicalism prevailed was due to this spirit of espionage through which the evils of men were emphasized.

Recently some of our larger corporations have appointed intelligent men acting unostentatiously throughout the entire organization, whose success depend upon seeking out and discovering employes who are especially worthy of advancement.

Incidentally they will report those found wanting, but the prime function is not to make complaint but to make doubly sure that the deserving are recognized.

This is a practical recognition of the economic value of mediation and square dealing.

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One Language—One Flag—One People

AS the stories of the war which filter through the various channels are received, digested, and analyzed, there is one feeling which predominates among the American people,—and that is wonder at the struggle between men, absolutely unknown to each other, with practically no definite knowledge as to why they are at war.

The stories of the armistices, swopping of tobacco, trinkets, etc., the friendly relations existing between captured prisoners and their captors, indicates that among the common soldiery of the nations there is no hatred, there is no feeling of internecine character, which we always believed to be the basis in warfare of the past.

We have not escaped the effects of the war. The serious aspect of the various conditions arising as a result of the war are met with at first with a few hours of hysterical commendation or condemnation, indicative of the strength of partisanship of the various groups that make up our nationality. Situated as we are between the two oceans, in a land with practically the same area as that engaged in this titanic struggle, with native sons and daughters representative of every race on the face of the earth, in which the belligerents predominate to a very great extent, why is it that we remain at peace? Why is it that the German and the Englishman, the Slav and the Hungarian, the Pole and the Italian, working side by side, discuss calmly conditions and topics of the day, while their brothers abroad are eagerly scrambling for supremacy in bloody warfare?

This we believe is due more to the fact that here in America we have a universal language. Granted every language under the sun is spoken and understood here, but the common language of the day is the American tongue, and it is an exception where any one of our adopted citizens does not understand enough of the common language of the country

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to understand his brother and be able to talk with more or less degree of appreciation and understanding.

This proves the wisdom of our forefathers for all boundary lines are artificial. All men are alike, accident of birth,—geographically, politically, religiously, or linguistically,—are not recognized here. They knew that men could not quarrel when they understood each other, and as most of the quarrels of men are due to misunderstanding, a great step was made in the elimination of all misunderstanding by having a common language which enables all men to discuss their commonalities and in this way they have become a one and inseparable people regardless of their parentage.

President Wilson, in a recent address before a class of newly-made Americans, emphasized the common interest of all in our common heritage, and he further emphasized the meaning of the word "united," in his statement to the effect that "The man who seeks to divide man from man, group from group, interest from interest, in the United States, is striking at its very heart." Further he said that the most undesirable of our citizens are those who attempt to play upon the prejudices of race peculiarities, when as a matter of fact, all races are one in common with the other when they are under our flag.

These statements from our chief executive are significant at this time. While our president may not have had any intention of calling attention to, or rebuking the efforts of the various isms of this country, which are attempting to develop organizations within organizations and have adopted a policy of closing out from the benefits, artificially secured, those who do not adhere to the ideals or ideas of the sponsors of this ism, they are forcing this country into a vortex of special privilege which continued in would reproduce in free America the bureaucratic and autocratic system of divine rights which is the cause of the present holocaust abroad.

Any system, regardless of its admirable intent, in its formation, that separates man into classes creates artificial lines of demarcation and has no place in free America. The sooner the people of America realize that a common language means a common interest, and that a common interest means the concern of all, the sooner they will check the inroads of these various organized propagandists which threaten to become so powerful as to endanger the stability of our nation.

Behind slavery there was special privilege. It was tolerated and grew, and then compromised. But the entire civilization, which inherited freedom for which our forefathers fought and bled, realized that a nation could not survive half free and half slave and they arose and crushed it, at what terrific cost, history tells us. If politicians, statesmen and thinkers of those days had realized whither they were drifting, with their tolerant compromising of an evil which tended to build up a class consciousness and a special privilege in a free country, they would have crushed it at its inception. There is a strong warning and a deep prophecy in the President's remarks, coming at a time when the entire civilized world is stupefied with horror at the latest evidence of the savagery of warfare. It is timely, and should cause the thinking American people to take unto themselves the lesson of the past that we may not have a repetition in the near future.

A timely warning heeded makes for peace.

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Arbitration Condemned.

SINCE the decision has been handed down by the arbitration board of Chicago, the press has been filled with complaints of those affected by the award and a general appreciation of the fact that the present system of arbitration is a failure.

This is not a matter of surprise, for any system of arbitration which arbitrates but one side of a question is not arbitration in fact or in purpose.

If the present form of arbitration is a failure from the standpoint of organized labor, it indicates that the responsibility for its failure is adjudged by the leaders simply from the matter of expense, and their failure to secure all of what they demand.

Several times in recent years has this body been invoked to prevent strife between labor and capital, and each time has the question involved and arbitrated been solely the amount of advance in wages that was to be granted, and no question of value received for the money expended was considered.

According to the American spirit of fair play, which predominates in this country, by the widest stretch of imagination this cannot be true arbitration. If a man goes to the courts demanding something from another man, he must prove his rights to it, and must prove that he has given or will give value received. Not so in the wage arbitrations. The general method of procedure is for the conventions made up of the various committees of the various organizations to arbitrarily decide to demand a certain per cent of increase. These demands are generally placed sufficiently high so that a settlement can be reached on a basis of what they actually expect to get.

Up to the creation of the board of mediation, arbitration by Congress, these committees met with committees of railroad officials and they battled back and forth until each side was exhausted and then the 15 or 20 per cent demanded was cut down to 5 or 7 per cent, which was expected, and the organization's interests were subserved.

At no time has there been any question as to the value of the services increasing with the increased increment being considered by either side in their final settlement and in the incident at hand, the matter would not have gone to arbitration if labor organizations would permit of consideration of certain grievances by the employers which they, the employers, insisted upon being considered at the same time that the wage controversy was. This was refused and they split. A strike was threatened, and called. The president of the United States interfered and asked both sides to accept arbitration and modify their demands, owing to the conditions confronting the country in early August.

The railroads submitted their position and on the grounds of patriotism withdrew their claims and the matter went to arbitration in the method insisted upon by organized labor. After many months, the selection of the neutral arbitrators was made and the hearings began. As the facts began to develop in the hearing, the tactics of the leaders changed, and in the eleventh hour they, anticipating an unfavorable result, made an attack upon one of the neutral arbitrators which was in extremely bad faith and which was unfortunate coming as it did at that time.

The other extreme of mind is indicated by organized labor's repre-

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sentatives upon this board whose statements anent the decision were mild, conciliatory, and did much credit to the poise of the dissenting arbitrators. "The award granted liberal concessions to the men," said the representative of the engineers, "but not as much as we expected. There is no doubt but what it will better conditions to a great extent but increases in pay do not amount to a great deal."

The charge of partiality against the neutral arbitrator by two other leaders opens up a serious question. This charge of partiality may complicate the immediate relations between the men and the railroads. The brotherhoods, however, are to be congratulated in the calm statement made by their representatives and from the fact that the agreement is binding on both sides for one year and in the interim the rank and file of their organizations will have an opportunity to express their individual views, and pass judgment.

The Man with a Job.

ELSEWHERE we publish a simple and able article under this title from the pen of Wightman D. Roberts, Huntington, W. Va. There is much need for literature of this type.

After thirty years of unionism, particularly among the miners, whom the story is about, the truth, that they have only succeeded in exchanging masters and not securing freedom, is slowly but surely dawning upon the workers of this country. Socialism, the panacea of all evils, is treated in a masterly fashion and we recommend the article to all the readers of THE MEDIATOR.

WORK

Work!
Thank God for the might of it,
The ardor, the urge, the delight of it—
Work that springs from the heart's desire,
Setting the soul and the brain on fire.
Oh, what is so good as the heat of it,
And what is so glad as the beat of it,
And what is so kind as the stern command
Challenging brain and heart and hand?

Work!
Thank God for the pride of it,
For the beautiful, conquering tide of it,
Sweeping the life in its furious flood,
Thrilling the arteries, cleansing the blood,
Mastering stupor and dull despair,
Moving the dreamer to do and dare.
Oh, what is so good as the urge of it,
And what is so glad as the surge of it,
And what is so strong as the summons deep,
Rousing the torpid soul from sleep?

Work!
Thank God for the pace of it,
For the terrible, keen, swift race of it;
Fiery steeds in full control,
Nostrils aquiver to greet the goal.

Work, the power that drives behind,
Guiding the purposes, taming the mind,
Holding the runaway wishes back,
Reining the will to one steady track,
Speeding the energies faster, faster,
Triumphing over disaster.
Oh, what is so good as the pain of it,
And what is so great as the gain of it,
And what is so kind as the cruel goad,
Forcing us on through the rugged road?

Work!
Thank God for the swing of it,
For the clamoring, hammering ring of it,
Passion of labor daily hurled
On the mighty anvils of the world. . . .
Oh, what is so fierce as the flame of it,
And what is so huge as the aim of it,
Thundering on through dearth and doubt,
Calling the plan of the Maker out;
Work, the Titan; Work, the friend,
Shaping the earth to a glorious end;
Draining the swamps and blasting the hills,
Doing whatever the spirit wills,
Rending a continent apart
To answer the dream of the Master heart. . . .
Thank God for a world where none may shirk,
Thank God for the splendor of work!

—Angela Morgan.

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What Are We Coming To?

WORSE than the brutalizing effect of the world-wide war upon coming generations must be the effect in this country of our coddling the weak and palavering with the wicked.

We are putting a premium on beggary and crime, a discount on thrift, independence and grit. We are substituting luck for pluck. The self-supporting bread-winner is making way for the self-seeking bread liner.

What self-respect will be left in the children of those who are being taught by the sensational press and tearful uplifters that they need no longer depend, as their fathers did, on their own exertions for a living, but that bread lines will give them their food and "Bundle Day" their raiment by day and municipal lodging houses their bed by night.

There are unemployed among the deserving poor. We have had these in every period of acute depression. True, also, that many who suffer now, most of them in fact, suffer because they were improvident. If they had been prudent, they would have looked ahead and provided in days of plenty for the rainy days of want. "Sweet are the uses of adversity."

A season of suffering always means a lesson of sacrifice. Now with higher wages and shorter hours of work than ever before and the highest returns to the wage earner given in any land, bread lines and free lodging houses and "Bundle Days" have become the vogue.

The "movies" have taken the place of the savings banks among the pleasure-loving, thoughtless crowd of improvidents, unrestful, unhappy, go-lucky, with no thought for the morrow. To these the bread line and the soup house and "Bundle Day" afford all that they need. Why should they worry?

What kind of a new generation will spring from the loins of those who are taught not the meaning of self-sacrifice, self-respect and self-dependence, but that the world owes them a living? From such we shall surely breed a generation that will believe that if the world does not give them an easy living, they will have a right to take it by force.

Isn't this a good time to cut out and paste in our hats the sensible admonition of the late Robert J. Burdette, in his address at the convention of the American Bankers' Association in Los Angeles, in 1910, when he said:

"A little bit out of every pay envelope, enough to patch the leak in the roof, enough to provide for the 'rainy day,' enough for the little holiday once in a while, enough for a new book and an evening at 'the show,' enough for the dreary days of sickness.

"Enough to pay every bill when it is presented. Enough to take up the note when it is due. Enough to save the man from becoming the unmitigated nuisance that is always borrowing quarters and halves, knowing they are obligations too small to justify a dun.

"Just enough in the bank so that when your wife needs a little extra money for the little emergency demands in the household, she won't come to you with the air of a woman who has made up her mind to suicide or murder, and doesn't care very much which.

"That's thrift. That makes a man rich on a salary. Earn; save; lay by enough to keep the wolf away from the door when the hearse with its sable plumes halts to receive its freight of nothingness." —*Leslie's.*

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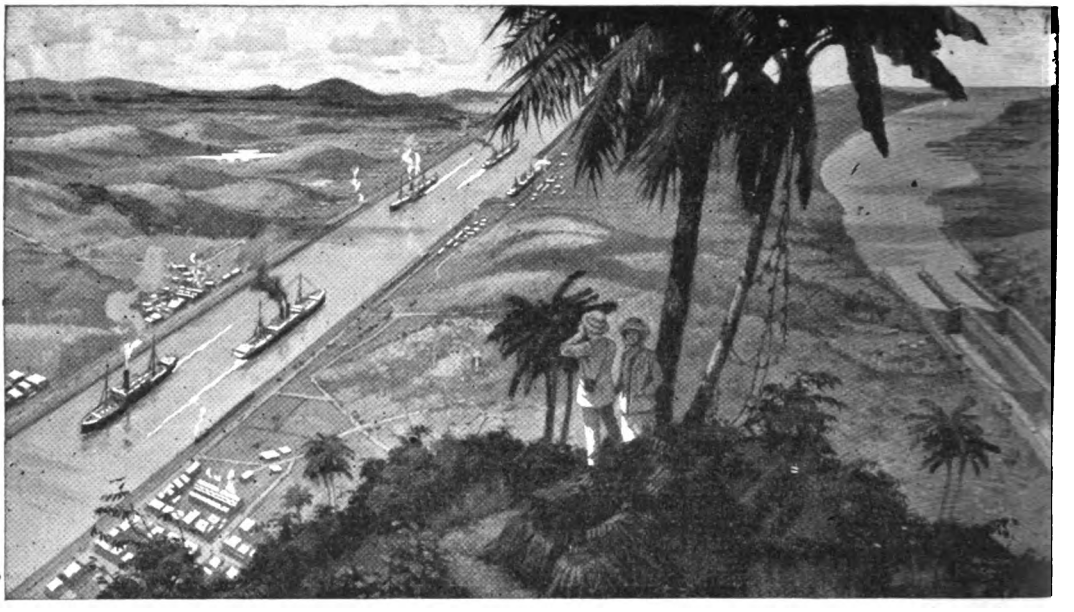

The Price of Progress

THE Panama Canal stands as one of the most marvelous achievements of the age. Into its construction went not only the highest engineering skill, but the best business brains of the nation, backed by hundreds of millions of dollars.

Suppose conditions not to be foreseen made it necessary to replace the present canal with a new and larger waterway of the sea-level type, to be built in the next ten years.

Also suppose that this new canal would be the means of a great saving in time and money to the canal-using public, because of the rapid progress in canal engineering.

This sounds improbable; yet it illustrates exactly what has happened in the development of the telephone, and what certainly will happen again.

Increasing demands upon the telephone system, calling for more extended and better service, forced removal of every part of the plant not equal to these demands. Switchboards, cables, wires and the telephone instrument itself were changed time and again, as fast as the advancing art of the telephone could improve them.

It was practical to do all this because it greatly increased the capacity of the plant, reduced service rates and added subscribers by the hundred thousand.

In ten years, the telephone plant of the Bell System has been rebuilt and renewed, piece by piece, at an expense exceeding the cost of the Canal.

Thus the Bell System is kept at the highest point of efficiency, always apace with the telephone requirements of the public. And the usefulness of the telephone has been extended to all the people.

AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY
AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES

One Policy *One System* *Universal Service*

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THE MEDIATOR

VOLUME 7 CLEVELAND, OHIO, JULY, 1915 NUMBER 7

OUR FIRST DUTY

By J. K. TURNER

"IF Providence will protect us from our friends, we can protect ourselves from our enemies," was the exclamation of a much harassed ancient whose friends threatened through over-zealousness to endanger the success to which he was pledged.

This statement is applicable at the present time to our German brothers in America. A wave of hysterical censure throughout the daily press, as a result of the sinking of the Lusitania, seems to have but one object in view, and that is to build up a hatred for Germany and things German.

It is an exception where we find a single newspaper, editorial, or news column that is not extremely partisan and anti-German in its utterances.

Sensationalism is the order of the day. Incidents in our daily press are magnified and distorted in a manner which would be ludicrous, were it not for the embarrassments such tactics cause in Washington.

The Mediator believes that the American people of all grades, classes, shades, and nationalities are satisfied to leave the international complications in the hands of our administrators at Washington, believing from their lofty viewpoint, with the welfare of the whole country constantly before them, their final decision in the matter will be just and be acceptable to the people as a dignified solution of the difficulty.

The hysterical cry of war and warfare is far-fetched. This country is in no danger of war. The only danger confronting the country is the danger of the press. The press is not using as good judgment as its importance to the development of the country would demand.

America is situated 3,000 miles from the seat of the trouble. The question of munitions and war supplies is a burning one and cannot be settled except by international law, and as there is no law abroad, it seems ridiculous to expect the American government or the American people to inaugurate an international law which would be binding on anyone.

This attitude of the American press has been pretty generally recognized and as a counterbalance, the German press has been multiplied. And as this press is a German press, its editorials and news policies are unquestionably shaped to make the best of the German situation and to emphasize German ideals and German methods.

Both angles of the press are wrong. This is a country between two oceans,—the Atlantic, or turbulent, and the Pacific, or peaceful. Our fore-fathers came here to found a country wherein freedom of speech, freedom of thought, and freedom of action would be possible. They fought, bled and died for it and they left us the heritage which we have enjoyed and which enabled us to build an empire greater than all the empires of the old world. Developing a spirit of "give and take," wel-

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coming to our shores all peoples of all classes and nations, amalgamating their ideals with ours, selecting the best in every race and thus through this amalgamation, we have a nation which is unquestionably the freest and the most democratic government that the world has ever seen.

When suddenly like a bolt from a clear sky came the world-war, spreading all over civilized Europe like a prairie fire. The diplomatic minds in the old world realized the importance of America and the possibilities to this country after this saturnalia of blood had spent itself.

Naturally they did not view with any more complacency America's rise to first power financially, commercially, and industrially, than they did that of their neighbors with whom they are now at war. An insidious propaganda was established by both parties in this country in an attempt to separate the people into classes.

How successful they have been those of us who are following the trend of events can best decide for ourselves.

Sanity seems to be in the balance.

Men who worked side by side a year ago and whose families visited each other are being separated by this propaganda. These differences of opinion, honestly sustained by each party, are endangering our future perpetuity and solidarity as a whole people.

America has no interests in the war or its outcome. Those of us who were born abroad left of our own volition. We left because the country did not attract us. We came to these shores and found much to our advantage. We accepted and adopted this as our country and this is the place where our children will enjoy the heritage that we leave them. If, however, the intelligent and sensible people of this country permit demagogues of any and all types to separate us and to force us into partisanship for either side in this world's strife, what will the heritage be for our children and our children's children?

We enjoy the blessings of today and the freedom which enfolds us while we live under the stars and stripes because of the fact that others have suffered and died to leave us that heritage, and we owe it to the past that we cherish this heritage.

We brought our children into this world, we raised and educated them as a free people; they knew nothing of the circumscription of the various other governments which bore down upon us so heavily that we sacrificed the inclinations of our hearts and left it for a freer land. Hence we owe it to these children and their children to follow, that we take no step, commit no overt act, which will jeopardize the perpetuity, to say nothing of the enlargement of our present freedom. Youth and enthusiasm lead us to extremes. But youth does not always build constructively. Hence it is the duty of the older and wiser among us to hold in check the youthful enthusiasm which bids fair to plunge us into this saturnalia of blood out of which we can only emerge at a terrific cost and whether we win or lose in the armed strife that must follow, the freedom which is ours today will be gone forever. Freedom of the press, freedom of speech, and freedom of association, which is the basis of this grand Union, will be circumscribed and the hatreds engendered by armed strife lasts through several generations. The vanquished are always bitter and are always plotting revenge on the victor. The victor always takes advantage of the vanquished and this advantage is always unfair. It is the advantage of might, and might alone can retain the advantage. Hence the only logical outcome in any strife will

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be a course of preparation for a renewal of strife on the part of the vanquished.

The Germans and their descendants in this country are intelligent, thrifty, and common sense people. Left to their own devices, they would ignore not only the warfare abroad but the slurs of the anti-German press and the insidious propaganda of the German press.

But among the Germans, as among every other nation, there are the young. These youths are easily inflamed and it behooves the elder of their race to hold in check this younger element just as much as it behooves the Irish-Americans and all others of our adopted citizens, who realize the responsibilities of life and realize the absolute imbecility of strife, to hold in check the irresponsible enthusiasm of the youth which should look before it leaps.

Civilization is what compels the Savage to work for his daily bread.

Helping the Fellow Who Can't Get a Job

By FELIX J. KOCH

CHANCES are you never have thought of it,—but, supposing you had a thousand people to feed,—with every chance in the world that long before you were through with them, a round other thousand had come up to be fed,—and that they were all very hungry, very thirsty people,—people who had tramped long hours, seeking work, and who, on the other hand, were trying their best to conserve their strength to do the work asked of them, when it should come,—what would you feed them? Naturally, there's a thousand things to be named,—such things as beef, cream, rich buttered bread; certain of the more wholesome vegetables and the like,—but when you recall that the "feeding," as it's called, is a charity; that there is a definite limit to the funds you can spend,—and that, what's more, this drain on your purse is keeping up for days and weeks and may continue for months, you'll add to the complexity of the situation the fact that you want to give the greatest number of actual food-units for the very least amount of cost!

Not to go into the innumerable experiments to the purpose, be it stated that the dieticians have concluded that a meal of soup and of bread is nearest to the ideal as panacea for an empty stomach;—and so, today, in the free-restaurants, the country over, where countless armies of those thrown from work by the world-war, are coming to receive daily or semi-daily dispensations, they are getting just soup and bread. Hence the name for such place, in the cant of its brethren,—the public soup-house!

Chances are, reader, you've never stopped to pay a visit to the nearest soup-house. You've read of it, admired the sense of charity that prompts men to make contributions to it, wondered what they gave the men to eat there, and then went on your way, rejoicing that YOU, at least, had enough to tide you over.

Probably the most unique free public soup house in all America is maintained today as an individual charity by Councilman Michael Mul-

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len, on Pearl street, near the river front, in Cincinnati. Councilman Mullen has been the founder of many unique charities for the poor;—every summer, for one, he gives a great boat-ride up the Ohio to Coney Island, to which the poorest and lowliest is made welcome. Everything is free to all at the big amusement resort up the river, and there's no end of good things to eat and to drink, without cost. Mike Mullen's Picnic, as it's called on the Levee, is the one bright spot of the year in many a sordid life there. People reckon dates from it, set their calendar by it. In the colder months, in turn, Mullen maintains a free soup-house, where no questions are asked—whence, why or who—but the Biblical admonition as to being hungry and "ye fed me" is put in practice from sun-up to dusk. This year the world-war has thrown thousands out of employment and upon charity, who have never been forced to accept such before, and from the lowly river-roustabout to Jack Roosa, college graduate, whose employer found he must cut down his force of chemists through lack of business—one and all feed and are nourished at Mullen's expense!

The nearest car to Mullen's soup-house swings down the highway and then turns at the splendid, new, brick market-house on Pearl street, where, on certain days of every week, these hungry ones may see exposed the strawberries from Florida, the hot-house egg-plants, the big red apples from cold storage, the German sausages for which Cincinnati is noted, Neufchatel and other cheeses, meats of every sort. "Speak of the tortures of Tantalus,—they're as nothing to standing, one long, unending line, on a strip of sidewalk, flanking a market-house overflowing with good things, and waiting, hours perhaps, for your turn to get a bite to eat!

It's along the side of this market-house that the police form the line to the soup-house. The place is convenient because a protruding iron roof affords them shelter if it rains, or the market-house itself may give shelter, should it pour, or hail, or snow!

Directly across from the door to the soup-house the two lines of the hungry meet. Off to one side range the black men, off to the other the white. Every so often the signal comes from the soup-house, and the given quota of blacks and the given quota of whites pass in.

Nor do the Mullens's rely on lazy "charity workers" to dispense their charity here. Young Mullen himself is in actual charge and pours coffee and cuts bread and the like, as do any of those hired to assist him.

Two meals are served a day, down here at the soup-house; the first at half past eight in the morning, the other from half past three until five in the evening.

At each sitting one hundred white men and forty-four colored men are served. The city supplies police to keep the men in line and see to "first come, first served"; for when even Jack Roosa is very, very hungry, discouraged, disgruntled, he's apt to be quarrelsome and try to take advantage where he can!

Work—preparing meals for the needy—has been begun, each day, for the last three weeks, at half past three in the morning.

The soup-house is lodged in an empty milliner's shop, and the old shelves along the side walls serve admirably for the hungry to stow any bundles on while they eat.

Down the center there extend the old counters—three rows of them—and on each, between the sittings of men, you find rows of quart tin

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cans, with the soup, that serves these men now as main-stay. The soup is a "burgoo," well-nigh so rich is it; with meat and vegetables in plenty for each, and a great spoon, that they may eat. At the center of the table every so often a big box of fresh bread cries welcome!

While you make your first survey, the men are entering. They stand in long, long lines the tables round, most of them keeping their hats on. The floor of the soup-house is covered with shavings and there's a steady crunch of these under foot, while they eat. Far at rear cooking is in progress, but all modern-wise—no odors of soup or of similar things here!

Just 144 men are fed, at a session, in Mike Mullen's soup-house, remember, and it's been found that it takes them just about fifteen minutes to eat.

Nor are the attendants idle, meanwhile. Any lazy "charity worker," so-called, looking for a "snap" when he takes a place at this soup-house, will soon find himself disillusioned here.

The soup-house is for the men, but women and children have their needs cared for quite as well. Women and children are invited to come—and do come—all day long with buckets and baskets, and what you would, for food to carry away. Every woman, every girl, every child who applies is given a bucket of hot, wholesome soup and a loaf of bread.

In a single day, Mr. Mullen tells us, they used 800 loaves of bread. They cooked 150 gallons of soup that same day.

There's a different soup prepared each day. Sundays it's with cabbage and onions; another day you get bean soup; another day, rice soup; still another, noodles, and so on. Anywhere from ten to fifteen men are kept at work just preparing the materials for this soup. A chef and three assistants then supervise the whole.

The soup-house is promised to run 'till the hard times are over, and while, as a rule, no count is kept, in one day they found they fed just 1,509 men here. The same day, 126 baskets went to women, just in the afternoon. Up to the night before our visit, 34,178 baskets had been "fed" in all!

Think of it! Thirty-four thousand self-respecting American people reduced to the state of coming for that most primitive of charities—something to eat! These people, too, are locality folk, largely, because persons so poor haven't car fare to come from afar and get food.

While you listen, you look up and down the rows of the hungry men, eating their very fill. You survey the bread, stacked at the sides, you watch young Mullen and his aides as they hustle and hustle about. Meanwhile, with half an eye you remark some very, very old woman coming in for soup.

The Superintendent of the Municipal Lodging House is near and he draws your attention to how orderly the men are as they eat. Then, bit by bit, they rise, satiated, and leave to look for work. Before very long the slowest diner is out and the place is cleared; attendants make ready and the soup-house awaits the next "bunch."

In the interim, young John Mullen takes you back to the rear, where cutting bread and serving is in progress. You marvel at the stacks of bread cut up and waiting here. A barrel of potatoes, a barrel of cabbage, two bushels of carrots, half a bushel of rutabagas, half a bushel of onions, will have been used up just today. The "stock" for tomorrow's

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soup will be put on this evening—it simmers over night—and when soft, they will take out some of the meat to serve as such itself.

Then he shows the 250 handle-fixed tin cans which are used, 144 kept going all the time, the rest for emergencies. Between each serving all the cans are rinsed and treated with soda-ash, to remove the grease. Meanwhile, the other men are busy—even Mullen is kept at it—dishing out into cans. Those long, long tables are not yet filled, and there's only three minutes between sittings.

Conditions, mine host tells you, have never been as bad as they are this year. In one evening alone 954 men came in to eat; 1,506 were provided for in a single day. Whites run "two to one" with blacks in the mass, though one day they counted 516 negroes to exactly 990 whites. These men come from all parts of town, so far as they can walk from what shelter they may have. Three men not long ago walked an incredible distance for this dinner.

Meantime, ever, the clearing up, the refilling. Meanwhile, more and ever more the families with the buckets. No disorder, no bad language, no impropriety here; nor has there been an arrest since the place was opened on the 27th of January.

You follow a pair of twins as they leave with fresh-filled buckets. Then you get a picture of some of the men, come in for food. And then there starts anew the army of the hungry, single file—men of all shades and complexions and nationalities—men from all lands and climes, some here since early dawn, lined against that wall, awaiting this breakfast call. On, on, on they come; first, the whites, then the blacks, in proportion stated, 'till the count is full and the police stop them.

Then they eat; they go; the place is cleared, and there comes another invasion; then another, and another, and so on, day in, day out, seven days of the week, every week of the month, 'till when, no man dare say!

The majority of men are like clocks—either too fast or too slow.

Taggart's Trials

By A. M. TAYLOR

TO the young man who starts forth in the world to win success, there are many conditions, which, when viewed in the light of his inexperience, are puzzling and contradictory to much that he has been taught and believes.

In various magazines and periodicals devoted to such subjects, he has read of the progress of others; how through integrity, attention to business, and enterprise, they have risen to positions of wealth and influence. He has pictured HIMSELF entering the employ of some great business organization where, by his zeal in promoting the interest of his employers, he soon attracts the attention of the "Big Man" and is raised rapidly. Stories of quick recognition of loyalty and merit, and the reward thereof inspire him; he goes forth, secures a position, seeks to put into practice those virtues which he has been led to believe bring success, and in many instances encounters conditions which would seem to prove otherwise.

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When John Taggart found it necessary, on account of the death of his father, to abandon a college career and find work at once, he found that on account of lack of practical knowledge he was unable to command a position of much consequence. However, he was young and filled with the ardor of youth, and believing that he would soon be able to demonstrate his worth and rise to something better, he accepted an offer to start at the bottom, from the point of wages at least, guiding a pen over the pages of the stock books of a large corporation.

It was soon apparent to those in charge, that his speed and accuracy were above the average, and he was permitted to work overtime, with no extra compensation, assisting other and less efficient members of the force to get caught up with their work. After many evenings of this, his refusal to return on a certain evening, on account of an important engagement, gained him a curt dismissal. Puzzling situation number One. He had been more efficient, had done more and better work, for the same pay, than many others; yet he had been fired, while the drones still drew their pay. Such recognition of merit was peculiar.

With little loss of time he secured a similar position with another firm. A prolonged spree on the part of the man in charge of a stock-room made a vacancy into which he stepped, with an increase of a few dollars in pay. Improved methods of handling the work gained him recognition from his immediate superior and another dollar in his envelope. A slump in business followed, and though his presence at his desk was constantly required, there was only work for part of the day. Casting about for something to do, his attention was attracted to the advertisement of a shorthand school and he enrolled in the evening classes. Spare time in the office could be improved in study; but, alas, a minion from the main office, passing his desk, and observing our friend industriously engaged in the study of sundry hooks and crooks, promptly reported the matter to the "Big Man." He was sent for and ordered to "cut it out." He ventured the opinion that his work could not be improved, that instead of sitting idly at his desk, or ducking for cover at the approach of someone in authority, he had hoped, by learning shorthand, to make himself a more valuable man for the company. "Cut it out, or quit" was the answer. He quit. Industry on the part of a young man was not thus rewarded in the story books. It was, indeed, puzzling.

Various turns of fortune followed. He added, through night study, a knowledge of accounts, cost keeping, and office systems. He found various positions, where his former experiences were repeated. He found some in charge of business who were absolutely indifferent to any suggestions made toward betterment in handling methods; others whose idea of holding down the job was to "bawl out" everyone who came beneath their jurisdiction, on any provocation. As a result he often found himself reading the "Help Wanted" columns closely, still puzzled, and still hunting for the place where efficient work, industry and loyalty would gain him recognition. There were times when it seemed that it would be better to fall in with the "plugs," to cease to look beyond the day's work, to give over trying for something better, and watch the clock along with the rest.

Then, one day, he found the place for which he had been searching. The pay was somewhat less than what he had been getting, but the work

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was there. The atmosphere was different. Over him was a busy man, who found time to extend his own activities by having someone to whom he could entrust many details. In Taggart he recognized and encouraged the abilities which would be of assistance to him. He exhibited no fear that someone would get his job if he allowed them to find out how the place was run. On the contrary, he crowded new responsibilities upon Taggart, while he sought new ones for himself.

And Taggart worked. Not more industriously than elsewhere—the appointed hours were shorter than in many places—but there was a greater joy in the work, and many times he forgot the flight of time, till when at last he left the office, all the halls were dark, and the janitor answered the elevator bell—at last he had found the place where he wanted to work as hard as he could, and could work as hard as he would. His years of puzzling were over—he had found his groove. But note—the work was in similar lines to that which he had been doing—he had ever lent his best efforts to the work in hand; wherein lay the difference between this and a dozen other jobs? In the attitude of the BOSS.

We make no claim that there is anything unusual about this case. Doubtless there are thousands more like it, which might be cited, were they known. But we are raising a question. As we have stated, certain magazines and periodicals are filled with stories of earnest young men whose ability was quickly recognized, and rewarded—of the Boss who is always on the lookout for aspiring youngsters with ability—of the crying need for men to fill important places, yet Taggart's search for such a Boss as we have referred to was long.

A glance at his record shows that he was never dismissed for inefficiency, tardiness, or lack of willingness to work. Would not the fact that he finally "made good" seem to indicate that several supposed "leaders" failed to lead? Are we not devoting all our space and energy to an effort to inspire the young man to splendid efforts to develop those characteristics which makes for success and worth, and utterly overlooking those in authority who have it in their power to encourage and reward such virtues? Might it not be true that repeated rebuffs incline some to sink back into mediocrity, to be content to walk with the "rank and file," to serve the appointed hours with no interest other than their stipend, to shirk added responsibilities? Kindly encouragement from the men at the head costs little and means much. Why not more advice to Bosses?

YOU CAN CLIMB PRETTY HIGH IN THE WORLD, BUT YOU NEVER GET SO HIGH THAT YOU ARE ABOVE SUSPICION

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Thrift!

By JOHN A. SLEICHER

OUR fathers knew the meaning of thrift, but their example has been forgotten. It is no longer the age of thrift. It is the period of the spendthrift. We find him everywhere. It is easy to make money, but hard to save it, and the spender is always in the majority.

The thrifty are mocked and laughed at and reviled. Extravagance is having its golden day. It shines with the blaze of glory. It dazzles the eye and quickens the pulse. But there is a day of reckoning, unheeded and unthought of.

And now we are to fall back to the example of the simple life. We are to be reminded of the advantage of thrift. It is high time. Visionary theorists are wasting effort on ideals too lofty to be reached. Reformers are urging the impossible and impracticable, and demagogues are leading the crowds along the highway of unreason, unrest and unbelief.

It is a pleasure to turn from all these to welcome a nation-wide movement for a revival of American thrift. It originates with a banker whose own career illustrates the lesson he would teach. It was born in the great Western metropolis, Chicago, and it is already becoming a national movement. It is beginning to be preached in the pulpit. It should be taught in the schools and advocated from the rostrum.

Thrift does not mean a pinchy miserliness or the hardship of great self-denial. It means a lessening of extravagance, the cutting off of useless expenditures, the cultivation of the saving habit, and preparation in time of prosperity for the inevitable hour of need.

Think of it!—a billion dollars a year spent in the United States "on indulgences which not only cannot be described as sane pleasures, but which do positive physical and moral harm." This is the language of Mr. S. W. Straus, chairman of the organization committee of the American Society for Thrift. He adds this striking comment on present-day conditions: "We are swayed by the agitators and demagogues—strikes and hard times result. We yell for a condition which does not demand thrift. We want a system which will enable us to become spendthrifts, to satisfy every whim and follow every fashion; but we will never get it. The world and life are not built on those lines."

The new society will find plenty of work to do. Thrift to the American people means better and higher living, nobler aspirations, a greater sense of personal responsibility, more worshipers in the churches and smaller crowds in the dance halls and vile places of amusement.

Thrift means larger deposits in the savings banks, greater investments in reliable securities, fewer victims of the get-rich-quick schemers, better homes, a happier and more contented people, and, above all, a returning sense of appreciation of the manifold blessings showered upon the American people by an ever-kind and indulgent Providence.—*Leslie's Weekly.*

Lots of men remind you of an old horse that never tries to get up any speed until it knows that it is on its way home to eat.

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The Circle of the Labor Movement*

Chapter XVI.

International Society of Dionysan Artists

THE history of this society is veiled in obscurity. Only anecdotes are found in the stories of Lucian, and occasional mention by Athaeneus and Aristotle.

Of all forms of organization, the Dionysan or Bacchic artists were most tolerated and patronized by prominent men. They enjoyed the patronage of Alexander, Nero, Hadrian, and Antonius Pius.

These artists were the originators and composers of the Delphic hymns, and written music.

These associations existed in countless numbers and were an important factor in civilization, being the most studious, independent, ingenious, and progressive of all the ancient unions of trades and professions. They were most numerous and powerful at the time of Christ. The love for show, pleasure, and entertainment was then at its height. Rome had conquered the world. August and Tiberius were busy collecting the broken fragments. Rich plunderers were dividing the spoils. Profligacy and military slavery on the other hand formed an abyss for their reckless genius to fall.

They were faithful to the Solonic dispensation, holding common interests with one another—the common table, mutual love, and the burial attachment to their secret organization, a methodical votive franchise, by which they were able to vote into public office commissioners of the public works, insuring themselves in this manner appointment to perform public entertainments for which they were well paid.

They were kind to, and fond of their women, but singers, dancers, players and teachers confined their personnel almost entirely to the male sex, although women belonged to the secret organization.

The god Dionysan was the same as the Latin or Roman Bacchus, "the ennobler of mankind, and the giver of joys." The Dionysan artists worshipped the great forthcoming soter or saviour hundreds of years before the coming of the Messiah, and expecting His advent were willing to fall in line with the Apostolic evangelism. Their doctrine of culture was similar to that of our Saviour.

Their musical and economic organizations date back into antiquity. Solon gave them the law of free organization about a thousand years before Christ. They were poor, lowly, hard working people, performing before the people to obtain their living. They made their own tents, machinery, wagons, clothing, scenery and all paraphernalia of their plays, often manufacturing their own musical instruments. They composed and wrote their own music, which was used in chants, dirges, anthems and choruses. Melodies have been found engraved on large slabs of rock of the temple of Delphi, and although the musical characters were radically different than those of the present day, they were deciphered and performed at the opera house in Athens, in 1896.

There was an eranos (union) of the Pythian Apollo at Amergos, in the island of Minao, which played the popular music for the people.

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There was also one at Delos, commemorating a consecration. Homer, the great master-poet, was a member of the Dionysan artists. He was known as a wanderer, going about reciting his stories to the people and was mysteriously obscure, which accords with their customs. Their organizations were always secret. They studied means to please the wealthy people and methods to have themselves appointed by the rulers to perform the labor of entertainment. Homer was a secret member, and after being appointed kurios or supreme director, he committed his stories to memory and, assisted by a picked quota, wandered through eastern Europe and western Asia delighting the millions of people known to have thronged the world before the Conquests.

The Dionysan artists were proletariats, hard workers, vigorous, and yet with all their industry, could only with difficulty obtain a living. They were, nevertheless, patronized and supported by the state and by public men and institutions. Alexander, the Great, on the death of his friend, Hephaeston, who died soon after his return from the conquest of India, assembled 3,000 of their minstrels and actors to do honor to Hephaeston. For several weeks they had full charge, performing the music and dances. The Emperor praised them and rewarded them magnificently for their service. He sent for them from all countries, far and near. They came from Peloponesses in Greece, and from the Euphrates in Asia, and all were to combine, converse, and perform in concert and union at the requiem.

The artists were also patronized by Alexander at the Olympic games. On one occasion he assembled 3,000 of the members to perform the agonies before the people. The world believed that a man-loving messiah had been persecuted to death and had arisen to an elysium where he opened the gates for the struggling masses of the earth. This wonderful story through the veil of tears amid indescribable gloom was depicted in the agonies.

The organization was a socialistic one. They had a municipal charter under the city in which they were organized. This was specified by law. The members agreed to love one another and live in undivided ownership, assisting each other in seeking and obtaining work, bringing the proceeds to the treasurer, who bought food for all, provided a permanent residence, a meeting house, schools, and all necessities. The original plan of Solon and Numa was to substitute the votive franchise for the father's judgment—socialism modeled after the model family.

This plan was operative for a thousand years. Twice an attempt was made to exterminate it through the Roman Conquests and through the Church, and it was finally destroyed by the edicts of the Council of Laodicia in A. D. 363. Servius Tullius, and many powerful men, attempted to save them because of their valuable service to the state. They fell when their common table was made a crime against the law.

Paul was a member of the scene-makers' branch of this organization. Many members received names indicating their duties and their surroundings. Many of the names mentioned by St. Paul in the Epistles were assumed. So secret were they that when people were initiated after conversion into the new creed, which was contrary to the official religion, new names were given them.

There were unions of athletes, boxers, acrobats, dancers, and wanderers, called fakirs.

The unions of fakirs went about practicing sleight of hand, peddling

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philters, etc. They fashioned ghosts, demons, wood nymphs, sea urchins, and centaurs and composed plays wherein these wraiths and monsters were brought realistically before the people. Because of the credulity of the people their influence became so great that it was firmly believed that they could call the dead to life.

Plato, realizing how strong they had become, was severe and pitiless against them for they interfered with his religion and political economy.

The members were only entered by initiation. Occasionally a rich man or a king or emperor was willing to descend from their estate and become initiates. This happened occasionally on account of the agonies, which were very alluring and fascinating and their principal method of earning a living. Emperor Hadrian was an initiate.

The world was in an unsettled state at this time. The people were ready to believe and endorse most anything. They were fetich worshippers even as today people sometimes allow religion to get the better of their reason.

There were organizations of wanderers who undertook weird tasks of snake charming, hypnotism, fortune telling, magic, and all kinds of witchcraft. Not only Hadrian, but Marcus Arelius, Commodus, and Caraculla, and Antonius Pius showed them kindness. The Roman city of Philippi in Macedonia had many of these unions of mimic artists when Paul established his church there, and these were called synods.

Aristotle tells us these artists were too poor to be good. Lucian tells us that their beautiful clothes were patched for want of money to buy new. It was not an uncommon thing for their managers to drive them out if they failed to get the required applause.

Allied with the Dionysan organization, were unions of fishermen and hunters, also conducted under the Solonic law. The hunters were exempt from military duty. They worked for the Indian government under pay of the king, Sandakotta.

The unions of fishermen existed at almost every seaport in Asia Minor, and as far inland as Hierapolis and Thyateira. An organization of fishermen at Cyzicus was organized in connection with the shipping trade.

After the Roman conquests, Rome and her newly acquired possessions fell into a spell of profligacy and greed. It became the craze to bet on physical powers of endurance as exhibited in bloody and brutal combat. The world had been conquered and the horrors had been stifled by the peace policy of Augustus. Men and women longed to see deeds of blood and cruelty, and the gladiatorial ring and its fight with wild beasts were invented to satisfy their desires. Every city of any considerable population had an amphitheatre where the people could witness these contests and feast their eyes on naked men and wild beasts, starved into fury, fighting and suffering death.

The organized hunters supplied the wild beasts for these gladiatorial contests.

(To be continued)

The man who makes the best of everything should have no trouble in disposing of his goods.

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Social Tendencies

PART VI.

The "Class Struggle."

By W. T. BETHUNE

THE realization of the fact that the State is a predatory institution and all political conflicts simply battles between groups of men, as animals, for possession of the things which go to satisfy their animal desires—(as indicated in this series), throws a new light on social phenomena and makes clear certain social tendencies that are inexplicable when the State is looked upon as the agent of all the people considered as the source of social intelligence—the present day popular belief. It explains why the so-called "class struggle"—which prominent reformers, less than one hundred years ago, confidently expected would be permanently settled by the beginning of the present century through the complete triumph of the working class in getting control of the governing body—is still with us in all its old-time virulence. It explains why the wage-workers and employing capitalists, instead of being separated into distinct and opposing political bodies—as those early reformers predicted—are still, as ever, grouped together in opposing political parties, each party built up through a combination of members of all classes. It explains why today, as in the past, the social body is seething with discontent, a discontent not confined to any particular class, but common to all.

The so-called "class struggle" is not a struggle between social and anti-social forces; nor is it a struggle between workers and robbers. It is primarily a struggle between workers who are exploiting each other. It is a struggle between men, as animals, for possession of the material things which satisfy animal desires—a struggle over the division of wealth they have co-operatively produced.

Our present highly organized industrial system, with its division of labor and harnessing of natural forces, when reduced to its lowest terms, we find to be an operation of the same nature as what takes place when a pack of wolves co-operate in capturing a bull moose. In both cases individuals co-operatively apply their labor to natural material so as to fit it for the satisfaction of animal desires they have in common. After co-operatively capturing the moose, the wolves pounce upon it and quarrel and fight with each other for the largest share of the common product. Unless gorged to repletion they will quarrel and struggle until the last morsel is consumed, and the strongest gets the most. There is no question of justice between the wolves any more than there is between them and the bull moose—might is right.

So with men as animals. But just as production is highly organized with men as compared with wolves, so is the process of distribution. Just as the workers, who co-operatively produce wealth, divide up into industrial classes and groups—the groups forming each class engaged in an industry which is a distinct branch of the whole co-operative body—so does the finished product find its way to individuals through these industrial classes and groups.

The mechanics of our present industrial order are such that the power of an industrial group to appropriate finished wealth out of its

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class fund is in proportion to the amount of the unfinished wealth it puts into the common stock, irrespective of how much labor may be expended in its production.

Take the coal-mining industry as an illustration—and what is true of this branch of co-operative production is equally true of all other industries. A group of workers operating a thick vein of coal, that is easy of access and located near the market, can put a ton of coal into the common reservoir (the market) with far less labor than another group working a thin vein that is hard to reach and far from market. But by reason of their location in this industrial field, the group of workers operating the rich vein can take more finished wealth out of their class fund, in proportion to labor expended in putting coal into the market, than can be taken out by the group operating the thin and remote vein. We are all aware that every ton of coal, of equal quality, has the same exchange power in the market, and this irrespective of how much labor has been expended in its production. Thus, by reason of their location, the workers operating the richest and most accessible vein can take out of the class fund the greatest amount of finished wealth in proportion to the labor expended in contributing coal to the common stock; and the group working the poorest and most inaccessible vein can take out the least.

(Note: In this connection it must be kept in mind that the term workers, as here used, includes everyone engaged in forwarding the work—from the water boy to the general superintendent. And unless otherwise specifically stated, whenever I use this term, I use it in the same sense, i. e. as including every individual who expends effort of brain or muscle in forwarding the production of wealth.

The whole body of workers is composed of two classes—wage-workers (those working for an employer) and self-employing workers. They differ only in that the self-employing worker is craftsman, business manager and legal owner of the business, all in one, while the wage worker is simply a craftsman, an overseer, a clerk or a business manager for the legal owners who are his employers. Both classes, as workers, receive the same wages, in that their recompense for equal labor, in wealth production, is an equal part of the common stock they help to produce.

Through the play of forces peculiar to our social order, every branch of industry is concentrating into the hands of a few corporations, producing wealth more economically on a large scale than is possible with numerous small producers. Self-employing workers are becoming employes of the large corporations and, instead of owning and directing a small business, they own, either directly or indirectly, an interest in the property and profits of some corporation (not necessarily the corporation that employs them) whose business actions they have little or no voice in directing.

Associated with these capital owning workers, as employes of industrial corporations, are wage-workers who own no capital—workers whose only source of income is their wages.

The wage-workers are more numerous than the self-employing workers, while, of the wage-workers, those who have no capital are probably in the greatest number. However, that those who own some capital represent a large per cent of the whole body of wage-workers is indi-

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cated by the great number listed on the books of banks and corporations as depositors and as owners of stock.

It is in their attitude towards each other in deciding how the common product shall be distributed that the lower animals differ from men. Here the wolf and the man part company. The wolf is simply an animal with nothing but an animal nature and animal desires. Physical force—might—is the supreme law of distribution in animal association. On the other hand, man is an animal plus a social unit. He has both an animal and social nature and desires. And it is over the distribution of the industrial class fund that man's social and animal desires come in conflict. His animal nature prompts him to seize all he can of the common product. But his social nature forces him to first use his reason (an attribute of his social nature) to decide if such action would be just. Above all other desires, man desires social justice. Justice between social life units (men) is to the social organism what the harmonious co-operation between animal life units (cells) is to the animal body. It is such an association of life units as makes possible the unrestricted flow of the common life current through the whole organism—the merging of each in all and all in each that constitutes organic life.

We are all keenly conscious of intolerable restrictions on the flow of the common social life current. We all feel within ourselves the surging of pent-up social life forces demanding expression in action. However, instead of every man obeying the promptings of the inner social consciousness peculiar to himself, we still look for some superior outside power to erect for us a standard of social justice to which we must conform. But each individual being unique, as a social unit, there can be no hard and fast rule of social action for all. It is only as animals that men's desires are alike and that they can conform to a common standard. Therefore any common standard of "justice" in wealth distribution, decreed by an outside intelligence or power, must, of necessity, be based on the animal law of might.

Such a superior intelligence or power is popularly recognized in "society" that, through its accepted agent, the State, directs and controls the social relations of men. The State, acting for "society," is recognized as the unconditional owner of the territory it governs, and of the wealth the inhabitants produce, and even as the owner of the inhabitants themselves. All our civil and political rights belong to the State. We hold them conditionally and the State takes them away from us, or changes the conditions on which we can hold them, when it considers it to the interest of "society" to do so.

To the groups of workers using different locations in each industry, the State grants the right to appropriate as much as they can of the finished wealth in their class fund, and in this way gives the weight of supreme authority in reinforcing man's animal desire to grasp all he can. Thus conflict is maintained between the groups in each industry for the locations where most finished wealth can be taken out of their class fund in proportion to labor expended in putting unfinished wealth into the market. And as the State delegates its ownership of these locations indiscriminately to whoever fulfils its conditions, a struggle arises, between groups and between individuals, for the privilege of being the State's delegate in the ownership of industrial locations. And a value attaches to the legal ownership of locations in proportion to their desirability

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as places where co-operating workers can appropriate finished wealth out of their class fund.

Here is the source of the Economic Rent and Interest of our Political Economists—the Surplus Value and Profit of the Socialist, and the Unearned Increment of the Single-Taxer and Social Reformer.

The struggle for the legal ownership of these locations takes the form of political action. And as the ballot-box process is the means through which "society" is supposed to instruct its agent (the State) and a majority vote is recognized as the voice of "society"; the existing legal owners initiate political action to secure legislation to strengthen their position and to increase the value of their industrial locations as a means of exploiting the industrial class fund. On the other hand, would-be owners initiate political action to gain legislation favoring them in their struggle for legal ownership. Each party does all in its power to secure the largest following of voters; and the legislative program of the majority party is the policy the governing body must pursue on pain of being compelled to do so by the physical force of superior numbers.

In this way the brute law of might fixes the proportions in which the class fund is distributed amongst the groups occupying different locations in the industrial field of their class. In this way the same brute law decides who shall be the legal owners of industrial locations. And the same vote test of superior numbers decides the ratio of distribution of their common funds amongst every group of men associated for co-operative effort, whether as wealth producers, beggars, or legal monopolists. And as the supreme authority rests in the State—as unconditional owner—and a demonstration of superior potential physical force (number of voters) controls its policy in fixing the conditions on which it delegates its property rights, men associate together in distinct groups for united political action, in order to get power to control the governing body and shape its policy so as to enable them to appreciate wealth.

Then as all finished wealth is primarily in the hands of the whole body of co-operating workers, and the first division is amongst the different industrial classes, it is clearly evident that the reason why men, as legal owners of industrial locations, are able to appropriate finished wealth out of the class fund without adding anything to the common stock, is because the workers who use certain locations can, and do, appropriate a share of their class fund that represents the expenditure of more labor than what is embodied in the unfinished wealth they contribute to the common stock. Rent springs out of this exploitation of some workers by other workers in the same industry. For to the extent that the workers on some locations take out more than they put in, so must workers on other locations take out less.

The wages of all grades of workers are fixed by the wages of the groups of workers operating the locations where they can take out the least in proportion to what they put into the common stock. The competition between workers for locations best adapted for exploiting their class fund forces them to give up, as rent to the legal owners, all they appropriate over and above this.

The total sum of finished wealth is thus divided in two parts, one part goes as rent to the legal owners of locations and capital, and the other part as wages to the whole body of workers. The proportions in which the rent fund is divided up amongst the different legal owners of locations and capital, and the proportions in which the wage-fund is dis-

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tributed amongst different grades of workers, is largely controlled by legislation, instituted and enforced by the State for the benefit of those in control of the governing body—control secured by a demonstration, at the ballot-box, of superior potential physical force. The law of political association, for the distribution of wealth, is the brute law of might—the struggle for the physical power, that goes with numbers, to appropriate the wealth that others produce. This brute struggle persists through every sub-division of men and wealth into public and private legislative groups and funds—amongst organizations of capitalists and organizations of workers—until, as with the wolves, the last morsel reaches the consumer.

(To be continued)

A pessimist is a person who is seasick during the entire voyage of life.

In Times of Depression

By J. M. OSKISON

"FINALLY," says a recent circular put out by the biggest bank in the country, "these periods of depression would be much less disastrous if each individual member of the community understood the importance of having reserve resources of his own."

It is a logical contention for a bank to make. A bank must always have reserve in sight sufficient to insure at the worst times. Why shouldn't the individual? The circular adds:

"After all is said that may be said of the obligations that rest upon society as a whole to provide for the individual, it remains to be said that there is an obligation upon the individual to avoid being a charge upon the community.

"A man may be willing to work and unable to find work in times of industrial depression without being quit of all responsibility for becoming a public charge.

"It is true that the industrial organization is far from perfect; it is, in fact, a rather hit and miss affair. It was not made to order, the responsibility for it cannot be placed. This is so because of the liberty that belongs to each individual, and it can be made more harmonious only as each individual learns to play his part in voluntary and efficient co-operation with the others, and to bear his share of the responsibility of finding his place."

Times of depression come as surely, if not as regularly, as do the seasons. They must be counted upon by the workers, by employers and by investors. When work is scarce the worker ought to have reserves to draw upon.

When business is dull the manufacturer ought to have reserves to draw upon—of capital to employ workers to make things (perhaps at a reduced cost) which will have a market when times improve.

When the investment market is dull the investor ought to have reserves to draw upon to acquire bargains and to stimulate legitimate business which depends upon the sale of securities to raise capital.

In dull times there is a duty to spend as well as to retrench.

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Real Estate and Humanity

By JOHN PAUL MAY

COMPETITION is strongest today because there are more efficient people than ever. Many capable men and women, still at the bottom of the ladder, sometimes get up a few steps, but in the fierce battle for place are once more pushed down.

The competition is greatest at the bottom, the higher one goes the more elbow room he gets. Those of us who continue to fret over what the morrow shall bring forth are all in one class; and it makes no difference whether we be members of the Commercial Club or of the Industrial Workers of the World. A whim of fortune may make an agitator out of the business man and a business man out of the agitator.

Everything that tends to make for individual efficiency also tends to make more strenuous the battle of life, if that battle be one simply for wealth, influence and fame. Upon these three things, and not upon individual happiness, we have concentrated too much of our powers. Such propositions as appeal to the better instincts of men have been dubbed as "impracticable," while materialistic goals have verily been canonized both by priest and sinner.

Individual efficiency, accompanied by individual happiness, should be the real goal of our business men; and the Lord knows that business men are today our rulers. This is said in no disparagement of business men, for wise men of business are indeed wise rulers; but it is the unwise man of business, the chap with petty vision, who is such an annoying cog in the modern social machine. City planning could never win his loyalty and support, for he is materialistic enough to oppose municipalization of parks, theatres, dance halls, social centers and streets. It is this chap who is horrified by the street corner apparition that is ghostily shouting against the iniquities of the day.

City planning is something of more importance than the mere attainment of material beauty, and it is not so impracticable as are the small taxpayers who refuse to look into its possible benefits. Small things are always annoying, anyway, and the small taxpayer is one of the most annoying critters on God's dirt, as Billy Sunday might say. He is in the position of the little fellow who was shocked by the discovery that the world is only a very infinitesimal fraction of the universe. The big man is always planning something with uses that will continually grow greater; he combines the many small things and eliminates the waste of conflict between them. The little fellow, however, stumbles along in the same old uneconomical rut. He cannot be made to see that a few cents more spent now for public parks, school buildings, paved streets, etc., will mean increased real estate values eventually because of an increased human efficiency from increased opportunities for beneficial recreation. He sees only these few cents which are leaving him, and which, if only they had stayed by his petty account at the bank, would keep him supplied probably in tobacco.

No, the trouble is not with the *idea* of city planning, but with these little fellows who see selfishly, shortsightedly. Selfishness is one of the fundamental laws of life; for no man loves his neighbor better than himself; but there is such a thing as petty selfishness, while its bitter opponent is the higher selfishness that recognizes that the greatest benefits

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come to an individual from an active willingless to let the other fellow have his share of benefits. The "hog-it-all" ideal of selfishness is obsolete. It has been learned that mere possession alone does not bring satisfaction. The man who wants to get all the benefits of city planning in his own neighborhood is shortsighted; he is afflicted with petty selfishness. The perfect city, the richest city, the happiest city, is that city without a sore-spot; and it should be the aim of every taxpayer to bring about the happiest city, the richest city, the perfect city, for he will then obtain a maximum of real estate values. That maximum will never be realized so long as men of petty selfishness and vision object to an equal distribution—not of money profits necessarily nor of property ever, but of benefits and opportunities.

Now, this isn't socialism, and I think no one will contend that it is anything but unvarnished justice, for it springs from the same source as does the idea that there is only one God whose power is so tremendous for no other reason than that His forces are equally, evenly and wisely distributed, and He gets best results from his expenditures. Swayed only by admiration and reverence, I am forced to remark that I consider God a wonderfully shrewd business man—He knows the possibilities of organization and there is no waste in anything that He does. Even from death springs more beautiful life.

And from things and souls of men, we can, if we will, cause beauty to come. But, first of all, we need a vision of Bigness. We must look ahead. We must plan more for the future than only for the present.

In the March issue of the American City, George B. Ford has an article, "City Planning and Real Estate." He points out that city planning years ago would have saved New York the $7,000,000 it is now spending for the extension of Seventh avenue. City planning years ago would have avoided the spending of $5,000,000 for three little breathing spots in the New York lower East Side. City planning would have avoided also the great land condemnation costs for a water front improvement that so many cities are now paying. "It would see to it," says Ford, "that every improvement should be designed with a view, not only to present need, but as far as is possible to foresee, to the best interests of the city and the property owner when its population is double or treble what it is now.

"City planning is not a squandering of the taxpayers' money on mere prettiness; it is regulating of the improvements which the city must make for a healthy, normal growth, so that every dollar which the city spends will go where it will count the most as a sheer business proposition.

"City planning conserves and stabilizes real estate values. Perhaps, its first duty is to undertake to present, so far as is possible, the demoralizing shifting of real estate values from which so many cities are suffering just now."

Something is wrong, it need not be said, if values come down. It seems unreasonable to presume that values in or near a beauty spot will deteriorate unless the beauty spot itself becomes disrespectable. To carry out such a program, however," Mr. Ford says, "the city needs the co-operation of those who know real estate and real estate values. It is so largely a matter of getting the greatest use and value out of property that it is obvious that the city should have the advantage of the best

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real estate experience. The real estate man owes it to his clients to help in every way he can."

Of interest in this connection is the recent statement by Charles W. Hendrick, chief engineer of Baltimore, who had charge of the Jones Falls' improvement, whereby a pestiferous creek, endangering health and interfering with the comfort of taxpayers, was transformed into a beautiful boulevard.

"The elimination of this useless stream running through the heart of the city, and the redemption of nearly 600,000 square feet of land for the use of a new roadway, the condemnation of which would have cost the city hundreds of dollars had not the stream existed, means the converting of a great nuisance into a valuable public asset," declares Mr. Hendrick. "The rears of the properties on this stream are thus made more valuable than the fronts of the lots facing on streets, and the increased taxes will create a sinking fund to pay the interest of the investment and eventually wipe out the debt, making the improvement cost the city nothing."

Mr. Hendrick could have added that the efficiency of the people in that section had also been increased by the mere psychology of the change, and that there is greater happiness today in the homes along the boulevard. And no city is really very rich, no real estate value will steadily climb, unless everybody is happy. The happier the town, the greater the value of the real estate.

One of the maddest men we ever saw was a chap who yelled loudly for a square deal and got it.

Senator Bryan of Florida on "Government Ownership"

"THERE is no reason for the government of the United States to engage in private business," he said. "Government ownership destroys private initiative. . . . The business of the government is politics and in conducting its own business it has no respect for revenues and profits. It is awfully easy to be generous with other people's money. While business men in all lines have been economizing in every way possible during the present war and hard times, see what happened at the postoffice department! This is one great business of the government that really shows a profit. The postmaster general wanted to save the trifling sum of $7,000,000, but 44,000 rural postal employes objected, they wanted their pay raised, and they got it. When 44,000 people in hard times like these can affect the entire nation, what would happen if the million and one-half federal employes united with the three million other employes now working for private concerns and were suddenly transported under government ownership? They would control the balance of power in the country. There would soon be no business—it would be all politics. You cannot legislate for New York state, and make those laws suit the people of Florida."

"The life of the law has not been logic; it has been experience."—*Holmes.*

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Joe Dixon on Fairbanks

FORMER United States Senator Joseph M. Dixon, of Montana, retired not long ago as chairman of the Progressive national committee, "to look after business interests," the dispatches stated.

That Senator Dixon has not entirely lost his interest in politics and public affairs, is indicated in the appended signed editorial in the Daily Missoulan, of Missoula, Montana, of April 2nd, in which the former Progressive party leader pays the following forceful tribute to a distinguished Indianian now prominent in the public eye as a presidential possibility:

"When the final verdict shall have been written Charles W. Fairbanks will be accorded an honored place among the distinguished men of his generation.

"He has served both his state and nation in the highest positions of trust they could bestow.

"As a member of the United States Senate he took rank with the foremost leaders of that distinguished body of men.

"As Vice President of the United States he served with a dignity, ability and kindly diplomacy that has seldom been equaled and never excelled in the whole history of the republic.

"In 1904 the Roosevelt and Fairbanks ticket swept the country by the greatest majority ever given to a Presidential ticket.

"Since his retirement from public life he has quietly and without ostentation borne his part of the responsibilities of private citizenship in his own state.

"Whether or not the future holds for him a yet more distinguished place of honor than the past will not disturb his place in history among the forceful farseeing men of his time."

"Experience evolves its own definitions."

Railroads Hit Hard

IF every time you earned $100 the tax collector seized $16 of it, you would not only pray for relief, but very likely use some strong language about the system that enforced such a heavy drain upon your purse. To pay out almost one-sixth of your income would appear burdensome and highly inconvenient.

But President Samuel Rea is my authority for saying that the railroads are taxed out of more than 16 per cent of their net operating revenue. Here in Pennsylvania corporation taxes educate children in the public schools, maintain asylums, endow hospitals, build roads, and pay for nearly all the work of governing 8,000,000 people.

Then soak the corporations some more, you say, and double the donations for all public charities. Sure thing! But don't forget that all the money earned by corporations comes from the public's pocket—can't come from any other source—and that the greater the taxes the larger the earnings must be.

The dog that bit off his own tail in a fight was not long in discovering his mistake.—*Girard in Philadelphia Ledger.*

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The Mediator

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PUBLIC ENEMIES

By WALT MASON

IF you build a line of railway over hills and barren lands, giving lucrative employment to about a million hands; if you cause a score of cities by your right of way to rise where there formerly was nothing but some rattlesnakes and flies; if when bringing joy to others you acquire a little kale, then you've surely robbed the peepul, and you ought to be in jail.

If by planning and by toiling you have won some wealth and fame, it will make no odds how squarely you have played your little game; your success is proof sufficient that you are a public foe—you're a soulless malefactor, to the dump you ought to go. It's a crime for you to prosper where so many others fail; you have surely robbed the peepul, and you ought to be in jail.

Be a chronic politician, deal in superheated air; roast the banks and money barons, there is always safety there; but to sound the note of business is a crime so mean and base, that the fellow guilty of it ought to go and hide his face; change the builder's song triumphant, for the politician's wail, or we'll think you've robbed the peepul and we'll pack you off to jail.

WIT WITHOUT WISDOM IS SAUCE WITHOUT MEAT.

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Labor's Oppression of Labor

THE full crew is defended as an attempt of poorly paid wage earners to get what ought to be coming to them from the railways. The actual operation of the law is to take from wage earners who are earning their living to give to those who are getting their living by statute. The heads of ten railways addressed the New York Legislature, telling what the cost of the full crew law would have bought if expended in cars, locomotives, signals, and so on. As there is no law governing wages in the cases of those producing railway supplies it follows that the wages paid in those industries are on a normal scale. Those who take full crew wages not only take that to which they have no right, although the law gives it to them, but they take it away from those who do have a superior right.

The same argument is put in a different way in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The $2,000,000 spent unnecessarily under the full crew law in those States would employ 1,745 men a year in the locomotive shops, building eighty locomotives. Would the community benefit more by the production of eighty locomotives or by the employment of supernumerary brakemen? If the money were spent by the railways in freight cars it would supply work to 1,498 men, or to 1,708 men working to produce steel passenger cars. Ought sympathy be stronger with the full crew men or with the wage earners in the car industries? The full crew law is said to be in the interest of the safety of the public, although the facts do not show any particularly higher safety on the full crew trains. It may be that the railways are not judges of the safety of their passengers, and that they are careless how many they kill. But it is not reasonable to say that the railways in their present embarrassed financial condition are indifferent to the ruin of their rolling stock. A cheap freight train represents $100,000 in cars and engine. Is it to be supposed that the railways would endanger that amount of property for the sake of saving the wages of a $2.75 brakeman?

At the committee hearing upon this bill at Albany, Assemblyman Mead, a switchman, said:

"If you knew the rotten condition of some equipment, your hair would turn gray. As a practical railroad man, I feel that I would be committing legislative murder if I should vote to repeal this law."

On that statement of the case, is the argument stronger for an extra man, or for better cars which might be bought with the same money? No doubt both extra men and costly apparatus would be better than either alone. But when there is a necessity of choice, which would be preferred? Since the appeal is now made to the public judgment and sympathy there is need that people in general should have an opinion in which way the railways would better spend their money, and whether their influence should be cast in behalf of the wage earners who earn their living by their work or those who earn their living by working the Legislatures.

As for the laboring men themselves, how is it possible that the great majority outside the full crew class can fail to see that their rights are reduced by as much as the full crew rights are enlarged? If it is a matter of sympathy with wage earners why not sympathize with the larger and more deserving class? When a farmer sees a pig getting too much out of the trough he drives him away and gives the others chance. If the

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unions were getting less than others, or less than was right, they ought to get more. But if they are getting more than they ought, and more than is consistent with the interest of all in general, and of competitive laborers in general, then the unions ought to lose the sympathy of the public, and the public ought to make its views clear. The newspapers are doing their share. Editorial opinions have been canvassed to a total of 199, including 162 for repeal and 27 neutral.—*New York Times.*

A lie that is not answered passes as the truth.

Disinchantment

DR. KARL LIEBKNECHT is a victim of the monstrous tyranny of Prussian militarism. He was a Socialist member of the German Reichstag. He disbelieved in war, and announced it with rising vehemence until at last he was ordered to place himself physically at the disposal of the army. The State is at war and the State is greater than Dr. Liebknecht. The State wants war; Dr. Liebknecht does not. They come in conflict, and one must prevail. That is tyranny, bitterly denounced by all Socialists. Dr. Liebknecht, being a Socialist, would, if he had the power, erect a German State that should be always for peace. His Reichstag would be related to peace as the existing Reichstag is related to war. And then, any one who should protest too much against the sacrifices the State felt obliged to make for peace, who threatened to create a dangerous sentiment for war, exactly as Dr. Liebknecht sought to create a dangerous sentiment for peace—he would be required to put himself at the disposal of the State. He would be deprived of his personal liberty, as Dr. Liebknecht was, because of his opinions. That would be tyranny, too.

A large body of involuntary experience with the despotic power of a working Socialism may ultimately appear to be one of the great benefits conferred upon human society by the war in Europe. Those experiences have been by no means one-sided. They have contained some unexpected lessons. They have proved that the State can do many things well, and also that Socialism in practice would put one kind of tyranny in the place of another. That it was bound to be so, many thoughtful people had already deduced from the premises of Socialism, but no Socialist would admit it. The practical object of Socialism, let us say, is to abolish private property in the means of production—that is, to abolish the capitalist system. For that system it would substitute the power and authority of the State. Then, instead of many employers, in a capitalistic system which does admit of some competition, there would be only one, and that one would be the State. The ideal of State might exclude thoughts of tyranny, but alas! the business of the State would be to get the people's work done. Ideals would have to wait. Existence is the paramount thing. Efficiency may be a tyrant.

In Great Britain the experiments have been most interesting. Practically, England has been socialized. The Government bought up all the sugar, and Socialists said, "See how the State can do impossible things! It can abolish speculation in commodities!" And it was so. The sugar dealers were deprived of a freedom always before enjoyed,

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but sugar dealers are a very few persons. The Government fixed food prices to prevent extortion, and that seemed a suitable thing to do, though it entailed difficulties of an almost insuperable character and was not carried to its logical conclusion. The Government took over the railways, and that was the biggest thing of all. At a stroke it was as if the country had gone from private to public ownership, and the railways went on running in an efficient manner, especially efficient for military purposes. Then it took control of the country's finances and kept everybody solvent by postponing payments, and later it laid an embargo upon the exportation of capital. Foreign issues could not be floated in the "City." Thus, for the Government's direct financial aid in keeping the "City" solvent, the individual investor sacrificed the freedom to do as he would with his own capital. But investors are not the people.

These and many other steps toward socializing Great Britain's means of production, including capital itself, were generally approved, and were pointed to by many Socialists as triumphs, until the program suddenly reached the widest, deepest, largest human strata—the laboring classes. Their experience with practical Socialism has been extremely discouraging, not to say disgusting. Before the war is over Socialism may have been able to explain why it so miserably failed to keep peace in the world, but after that it will have to tell the laboring classes whether, to abolish the tyranny of the capitalist system and put the Great State in its place, one must sacrifice one's right to drink what one likes at what time one wants it, perhaps even the right to drink at all, and the freedom to refrain from work when one so pleases. The capitalist system never dared to go so far as to say that a civilized man should work whether he wanted to or not, or to make him sober against his will merely to increase his efficiency. The English Government has gone so far as to require dockers to work overtime, on no other ground than that the State needs their labor. That, under Socialism, would be reason enough for requiring anything. None could withhold what the State required. Would not that be tyranny? And from it what appeal? —*New York Times.*

"Reason is the life of the law."—*Coke.*

A Laborer's Protest

LITTLE is heard from the rural laborer. Often it is because he is busy all day and, as a result, sleepy in the evening. Oftener, perhaps, it is because "true ease in writing comes from art, not chance," and the farm laborer is infrequently in practice as a writer of protests against conditions. But now and again there comes from the rural districts an argument in behalf of the working class that lacks nothing in point and vigor.

A contributor to "Farm, Stock and Home," a Minneapolis agricultural journal, asks what there is in the "hired man's job" that makes it desirable. Long hours, small pay, indifferent housing figure in his tale of troubles, but not as factors which decided him in favor of the city as the theater of his future efforts.

"The deciding factor was the fact that after years of service, when

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he had come to know teams and machinery like a book, when he could plan the day's work to good advantage, when he could put 130 pounds of trained muscle against 200 pounds of beef and out-pitch, out-shovel, out-work, it at any job short of dead weight lifting, he was still paid on the basis of unskilled labor, and was made to feel that he belonged to that class.

"Than which, of course, there is nothing farther from the truth. The man who can milk and feed cows, keep a team hard at work and in good flesh, crowd his machinery and keep it going, is very far from being an unskilled laborer. He is really as far beyond the average mechanic as the mechanic is above the man who digs sewer. But the unpleasant fiction still obtains that he belongs to the unskilled class. As a consequence he has to meet the open competition of men who really know nothing whatever about farm work, but who imagine that it is something anybody can do."

There is no employment in which character, experience, assiduity, sobriety are of more importance than in farm labor. There is no manual labor in which there is a wider range of efficiency.

"The rise of farming into one of the skilled professions carries with it its insistent labor problem," says the protesting former "hired man." And he asks how it can be solved.

If it is ever solved to the approximate satisfaction of the farm laborer it will be solved as a result of better rural schools. The skilled farm laborer is not a man who depends wholly upon trained muscles and experience. He must understand tillage, feeding and farm sanitation and hygiene to reach his broadest usefulness. "Pitching" and shoveling, whether upon the farm or elsewhere, will never command high wages. But the farm laborer who knows how to make stock feeding profitable, and how to take preventive measures against animal diseases, as well as how to till soil profitably without depleting it is not an unskilled laborer, and should not be paid as an unskilled laborer. Is he always so paid?

A MAN SELDOM EXHIBITS HIS TEMPER

TILL HE LOSES IT.

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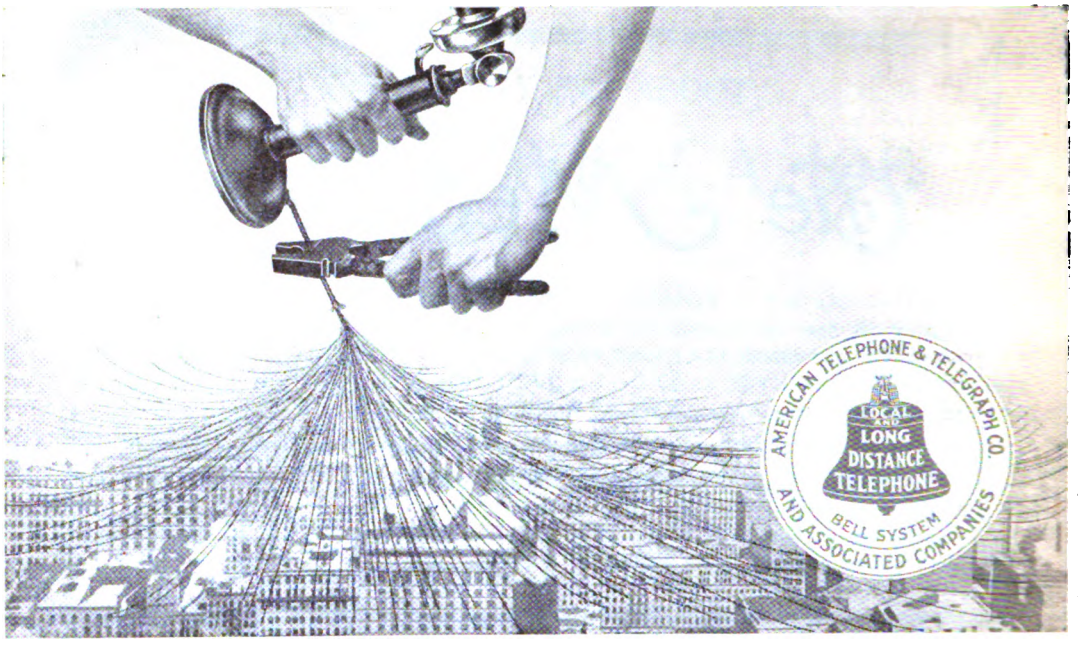

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THE MEDIATOR

VOLUME 7 CLEVELAND, OHIO, AUGUST, 1915 NUMBER 8

HYSTERIA'S PROPAGANDA

By J. K. TURNER

FOR a month past, display headlines have appeared in practically every newspaper in the United States, indicating that there is a propaganda by German agents to induce the co-operation of labor unions to force a strike in every shop in the country wherein munitions of war are being turned out.

Meetings have been held in different parts of the country, instigated, according to the press, by German agents who have no interest in this country outside of this.

In New York City headquarters have been opened on Broadway from which place German propaganda is being put forth with the idea of a general strike. Peace meetings, held in different parts of the country, are being manipulated into pro-German strike movements; judging from the prominence given this agitation by the daily press, a great deal of headway has been made. Isolated instances in different parts of the country show this agitation is productive of limited results.

In Toledo, on June 23rd, a strike was declared in an automobile plant, resulting in the discharge of the whole force. In Cleveland in three instances strikes were narrowly averted by the more sensible of the workers who realized that unemployment was the rule instead of the exception and that thousands were waiting for their positions. This sensible viewpoint of conditions alone prevented a general walk-out.

Prominent labor leaders are reported as favoring this movement. While it is not the intention of THE MEDIATOR to criticise any honest effort that has for its object the betterment of the conditions of the working man, it cannot but emphasize and call attention to the utter imbecility of such tactics at this time.

If the labor leaders are earnest and sincere in their efforts to advance the cause of the working man, they should at least be men of sufficient judgment to realize the uneconomic phase of the propaganda in question. If they are intelligent leaders, they realize that America is the only place in the world today that is free from war and the curse of militarism.

This nation of nations, the haven of the oppressed of all foreign countries, is the only place to which the men of Europe can come to escape from military service. In America we do not want any national or race hatreds of European strife planted here. Nor do we want our ideals of liberty crushed under the conscription and weight of armament. The danger of this attempt to create discontent among the workers is that it may develop into a hysterical wave which will sweep all before it. A strike cannot be organized on a hysterical basis, a strike cannot be engineered and created to order. If these propagandists were successful in creating a general strike in every shop in the United States wherein war munitions were being turned out, the strike would be defeated before it began,

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because of unpreparedness of the strike, and from the fact that vast numbers of men have been and are still unemployed.

The leaders of the labor movement in this country are able men. They know the labor situation better than an emissary of any outside propaganda. The hope of the American workman lies in working towards peace and unity, first at home and by example extending it to the other nations.

Linked with this question of strike, the propaganda points out the dangers of our becoming involved in the controversy abroad. We are in no danger from anything but these manifests of hysteria. The people are beginning to believe anything. This is a direct result of the propaganda intermingling with our peace societies.

Any movement that has mysterious factors behind it and moves in dark and devious ways should not appeal to the intelligent working man. The only concern that the working man of this country has in the matter is the ultimate effect upon his immediate future. There is no doubt but what the great masses of the people in this country are opposed to war. American traditions are against it. The Spanish-American war was due to a spontaneous outburst of hysteria before the people had a chance to think. We are opposed to militarism, suspension of civil rights, the secrecy which war entails, and the tremendous power which war invests in a few individuals. We have had time to recognize that war is wasteful. As in private life, one crime leads to the other; so in war, one international crime leads to another. The progress of war is the progress of cruelty. All standards of right and wrong have been eliminated; the present standard abroad is the ability to do the greatest amount of harm.

Insanity is contagious. Europe is mad, and some of this madness is being transferred here. We are on good terms as yet with our neighbors and we have nothing to fear from them. The only fear we need have is the influence of the irresponsible element in the organized propaganda of labor. All labor movements are based on peace in direct opposition to militarism in any of its forms. And the danger that we must admit of in order to insure its defeat is that the labor movement may be swept off its feet through the hysterical sensational utterances of our demagogic press and leaders whose sole aim is to advance their own selfish interests even at the expense of the progress of freedom which is the basis of our government.

Every man of every nation, creed or sect in or out of the ranks of organized labor, must concern himself with the propaganda which so intimately concerns him and see to it that sanity is not unseated by this wave of hysteria by whomsoever instigated.

A man is never to old to learn, nor to forget what he has learned.

Loyalty and a Sovereign People

By DR. EDMUND VON MACH

WHEN the United States of America was founded, the fathers of the country wished not only to break the ties to a mother country which had ceased to understand her colony, but also to throw overboard some antiquated ideas and prejudices. Provinces had separated from mother countries before, but in establishing their new commonwealths they had invariably followed the old political

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notions. They had deposed one sovereign and raised another to his place. The idea that the people of a country are sovereign in their own right had not occurred to them. Without this idea, however, true progress on the road to perfect freedom is impossible.

In the United States of America this idea found expression on a big scale for the first time when King George III was deposed as sovereign of this country, many of his duties and prerogatives passing to the chief executive, the president. The sovereignty itself, however, passed to the people. Each individual citizen is a sharer in this sovereignty.

New citizens renounce their allegiance to their former individual sovereigns, King George, Czar Nicholas, Emperor William, as the case may be, but do not swear allegiance to the President of the United States, but to the United States, the country, and the ideals on which it is founded. Instead of exchanging sovereigns, King George, for instance, with Czar Nicholas, they are accepted into the company of a sovereign people, and themselves become sovereign. A Russian who is naturalized in the United Kingdom or in Canada becomes a subject of King George. The royal sovereignty in Great Britain may be only a weak survival of the past and the people exercise most of its rights. The fact, however, remains that every Englishman, and Canadian, and Australian is a subject owing absolute allegiance to his king, while every citizen of the United States is a free man and a member of a sovereign people.

This fact is often overlooked but deserves to be emphasized over and over again. During recent administrations the presidents have often erroneously assumed, or at least acted as if they believed, that as chief executives they performed not only the customary duties of a sovereign but enjoyed also some special sovereign rights. An especially offensive custom of recent years has made the presidents speak of the American ambassadors abroad as "my ambassador at London," etc., etc. Ambassadors are personal representatives of one sovereign at the court of another. The President of the United States is not a sovereign, and for him to speak of "my ambassador" is an assumption which cannot be too strongly resented.

Many of the present day abuses are directly traceable to the fact that the pride of the people as freemen, owing allegiance to no one individual, has failed to assert itself. This inheritance, however, with which every American is born, and which a generous republic bestows on those it admits to citizenship, is so wonderful that no one should for one moment forget it.

Noblesse oblige! and sovereignty implies not only privileges and prerogatives, but also duties. Even in the monarchical countries of Europe nobody assumes that the king or emperor is a law unto himself. In America this is much more so. The sovereign people have duties which go much farther than casting their votes, paying their taxes, and obeying their own laws. They have sworn allegiance to the United States and the ideals on which the country is founded. If they are faithful, therefore, to their oath, or the oaths their fathers or fathers' fathers have sworn before them, they will perform the routine duties of their citizenship with the pride and honesty that trust in these ideals implies. American citizenship means giving, not receiving; duty, not enjoyment.

No American can shirk the duties entailed by his sovereign citizenship. The world rightly demands more of free men than of subjects. The subject may ease his conscience when he obeys an unrighteous call of his government with the thought that he has no duty save to obey his sovereign. The freeman holds an entirely different relation to his government. As an

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individual the chief executive is his equal in sharing with him and all the people the sovereignty. But as an official, even though he be the president, he is the servant of the people. There is no more un-American doctrine than this, that in momentous times the president should be supported by everybody, irrespective of whether he is right or wrong. On the contrary, the harder the time the more insistent should come the call to every member of a sovereign people to steer close to the ideals as he sees them.

No compass is entirely true. The sailor knows this and before he sets out on a dangerous journey, has his compass tested. Prejudice and ignorance are the forces which in public life divert our compass needle from pointing straight to our ideals. General information, broad-mindedness and the free intercourse with other people are the correctives. But hear we must. We cannot surrender our rights and duties, or we should not by sovereign. If we see the president heading for dangerous ground, and all the ships following him, their navigators discarding their compasses and shouting that loyalty and patriotism demanded this, we have no right to do the same. Nor have we the right to keep silence. It is our duty to state our conviction that the nation is dangerously off the course. There is, until the wreck has happened, the chance that the president, or the big majority of his followers, may see that he has been mistaken.

One other point should not be forgotten. The sovereign of a foreign nation and his chosen advisers are expected to decide for the people, and after their decision has been made their subjects are expected loyally to support them. In America the opposite should be the case. The sovereign people should decide, and their chief executive should loyally support them. The people cannot decide justly unless they have all the information. For the president or the state department to withhold the information which they have gathered, not for themselves but for the people, whose servants they are, is un-American and disloyal.

The present crisis may well raise the question whether the implied rights given the president are not too far-reaching. For a week the American people waited with bated breath and asked "What will the President say?" and teachers of a mistaken loyalty said, "Whatever he decides our patriotism demands that we support him, to a man."

Men of America awake! Withdraw yourselves from the spell of that false doctrine. The president is not your sovereign, he is your servant. And when instead of listening to you he shuts himself up in his study and steers a course which you deem wrong, it is not loyalty but cowardice, not patriotism but treachery to follow him. You have sworn allegiance to the United States and the ideals on which the country is founded. Liberty, truth and justice are the cornerstone of these foundations.

If the United States sinks back to the level of European monarchies, if you have exchanged a king for a president, allegiance to King George or Emperor William for allegiance to Woodrow Wilson, the fathers of this country have worked in vain, the great struggle to keep the Union together has been in vain, and the hopes and labors of countless noble Americans have been wasted..

The one great truth without which the United States becomes a mockery is that here the people are sovereign, owing allegiance to no man, but to themselves, their country and its ideals. To say that patriotism demands the subordination of one's ideals to those of any one political leader is erroneous. When in the interest of the orderly continuance of an

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established state of freemen, the question arises, "What shall I do?" The conscience of the individual must be his only guide.

It is, however, necessary to remember that neither countries nor men are ever freed once for all times. We may inherit money from our fathers, but cannot inherit free institutions, for they will pass from existence unless each generation wins the right to possess them, by being worthy of them. Only a sovereign people is worthy of free institutions. The rights, duties, and responsibilities of sovereignty cannot be abdicated.

Governmental Extravagance

SEVERAL times during the past decade THE MEDIATOR has called attention to the absolute necessity of placing a check upon the extravagance of the administration of our governmental affairs.

Particularly is this true of the various forms of commissions created to investigate the abuses of power on the part of our industrial leaders.

The government has, at a great deal of expense to the tax payer, initiated and conducted several investigations which have been productive of practically no results aside from the moral effect of the same.

In the creation of the commission for the purpose of valuation of our railroads, extravagance has reached its highest form. Congress was severely criticized for the appropriation of $10,000,000 for the expenses of the commission, and judging from the subjoined editorial from the *New York Times* of July 14th, this appropriation will cover but one-tenth of the cost.

"Work has just been begun upon the physical valuation of the New Haven Railway. The fact that it will cost the company a half-million dollars is a measure of the increase of cost of the entire project. Only about 800 miles a year can be valued, and the company's payroll is $145,000 annually on this account. Originally it was thought the cost would be about $10 a mile for the entire country, or a maximum of $6,000,000. It is now thought by Mr. Prouty that it will cost the Government three times that and the railways double the cost to the Government. Altogether, $50,000,000 is the latest estimate of the cost.

Unfortunately, the estimates of value do not rise with the estimates of cost. Nobody knows what will be done with the valuation when it is complete. Nobody would dream of basing rates today on the conditions of ten years ago, but this valuation will be ten years old before it is available for the purposes of rate making. If the valuation should show that the roads are undercapitalized, the proposers of the valuation would be the last to agree that the rates should be raised to agree with the valuation. And if the valuation should show that the capitalization is excessive, and any attempt were made to reduce rates accordingly, there would be an instant recourse to the courts, which would make a valuation of their own.

The Government valuation, whatever it is, will bind nobody to anything. A tax valuation is revised annually, but it settles the worth of a property only for purposes of taxation. Nobody would make a bargain on a tax valuation without subjecting it to independent revision. Yet tax valuations are of much higher authority than the physical valuation of railways can ever be, if only for the fact that it is out of date before it is completed. No doubt the costly folly must proceed; it is so much easier to start such notions than to stop them."

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The Industrial Unrest

By JOHN E. BENNETT

Editor's Note: John E. Bennett, the author, is a member of the San Francisco bar and his analysis of the industrial unrest is recommended to the readers of THE MEDIATOR and their comment and criticism solicited.

MAN belongs to that order of animals which by their nature are gregarious; that is, animals who by instinct assemble into communities and exist in association with each other.

The movement of man in the line of progression, from his earliest type to his highest modern creation, has been, from the standpoint of the human race, extremely irregular. Some people, even within the realm of civilized nations, are centuries ahead of others, while there yet abide naked and savage tribes.

In whatever stage of progress men may be, there is government against them. Government may be defined as the existence and exercise of a power vested in human hands, compelling the individual to do or refrain from some act or conduct by reason of the common welfare. The necessity for government arises with the human through his need of subsistence and his need of defense.

Looking at this initial stage of society it can be seen that the line between the ruler and the people, as to which is in ascendance, is not clear; and whichever hypothesis is accepted must be a conception merely, whether the people are of primary importance and the ruler is their servant, or whether the ruler is uppermost and the people are his servants.

As men, however, attain to civilization there comes into their minds the light which shows them the quality of government in relation to the people and in relation to the ruler. And whatever may be the kind or form of government existing in any country, there remains in connection with it but two principles; one is the Man, and the other is the Ruler. The first is where the citizen himself embodies all rights of every kind, just as though he stood solitary in the midst of nature; and where out of those rights which he possesses he cedes certain powers to an invisible entity called the State, upon the condition and for the consideration that so endowing the State the latter will protect him in the free exercise of the rights he reserves.

If the citizen withdraws any of these powers from the State, the balance is destroyed, and the condition that supervenes is called anarchy. This order of things is, however, theoretical only; anarchy can never exist as a status of Society in any wide scope or permanence. Its very existence will revive to suppress it, the law which it has overcome. Its assertion will drive the government quickly into the most centralized and absolute form, the very opposite to that which the anarchist desires.

If, however, the Commonwealth encroaches upon the rights of the citizen, then it is also no longer a Commonwealth, but falls into the reduced sphere of a democracy.

An absolutism may be either a democracy, an oligarchy or a tyranny; it is not necessarily a State under the domination of a single ruler; although its gravitation is in that direction, and if uninterrupted

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in its course, ultimately develops into such autocracy. Absolutisms are extremely common in every day affairs. Take the ordinary private or quasi-public corporation, ruled by a board of directors, elected by the stockholders, and who may, under a democracy, stand as the counterpart of the administrative and legislative authority of a State installed by the voters. A single individual will often dominate the board. Usually he expresses himself through a group or majority of the members, who are committed to his rule, in whose acts the minority acquiesces.

The nation founded by our fathers of the Constitution was a Commonwealth. Today it stands depraved as a democracy, its tendency driving hard and fast into imperialistic autocracy. The Commonwealth which the makers of the constitution ordained was by no means perfect; yet that constitution was sufficiently broad in its foundations resting upon freedom, to have sustained any structure of liberty which might have been reared upon it; the principles of liberty of man were there; they needed only to have been carried out, expressed in legislation, interpretation, and so administered, to have evolved on this continent, in this day and time, the most perfect government, and the highest human happiness, that can exist upon earth.

No longer a Commonwealth, the avenue which the existing democracy is taking, in proceeding toward monarchy, is Socialism.

There is no doubt, however, that if Socialism became the policy of the nation very short shift would soon be made of concerns competing with the government. The people of the nation, then committed to the idea of Socialism, would quickly regard as public enemies, as common pirates, those individual concerns which were underselling the State shops in the market, and so causing the latter to default in their running expenses, which the people would have to make up through increase of taxes, if the entire structure of Socialism was not to go into the dust. It would soon be found that in running shoe factories and tailor shops the policy of the government would be the same as that it now employs in running the mails, viz.: It must arrest its competitors and lock them up in jail.

We see, therefore, the ideal. This is offensive enough to millions of our countrymen, nurtured at the breast of the constitution, imbibing therefrom its spirit of freedom and equal right. The notion of a government job at doing something where they can fit in does not attract them. The ideas that they must exist upon the favor of some political boss, who holds his particular job by standing securely in with the powers above him, does not appeal to them. What they want is a condition where, if the job does not suit them, they can quit and take another somewhere else, more favorably circumstanced, and they want to see jobs in plenty, and wages good. That is the natural condition, the state of things as they ought to be, and as they will be when the errors of government policy, with the harmful laws which I am pointing out, are removed.

The restful Elysium which the Socialists conceive of everyone having a government job for life with easy work and short hours on good pay, with pensions and perquisites at the end, is very different from the manner in which such job would materialize under the government which they seek to install. For while they talk of "democratic administration," meaning, without doubt, the administration of a Commonwealth, yet this idea is in human experience completely at variance with

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the quality of an autocracy. No highly centralized State, which the Socialists' edifice essentially is, could long exist, or exist at all, without forming of itself a monarchy, whether the monarch were crowned or not. Indeed, the very process of drawing to a head in the evolution of the Socialist structure, with the constitution overcome and law subverted to the will of a ruler, would create and is now tending to create, a monarchical establishment. We do not have to try to imagine what this condition would be, we have only to look into the past and see what it actually was, when it existed. The most Socialistic nation which has ever appeared on earth is today, and always has been, Russia, albeit the Marxian Socialist propaganda has been consistently opposed there by the government. The fact nevertheless is that the Russian autocrat has only to expand his wings to embrace the ownership and operation of all industrial property and all that is ideal in Socialism would be obtained. The Czar, as rapidly as he can, is now doing this very thing.

Industrialism has come to be the leading influence of the nation. Autocracy has always laid hands upon and assimilated whatever was the most cogent force, besides itself, within the realm. From the beginning it has assembled and directed, through militarism, the spirit of combat; for years its chiefest ally was religion; today it is industrialism. Nothing is plainer than that such autocracies as Germany, Austria, even France, with its nominal republicanism, are rapidly becoming monarchical socialisms. In Germany the government, in addition to owning the public utilities, is acquiring the stock control of every large corporation in the country.

It would be a great mistake to conclude that the entire Socialist strength of the country was represented in the Socialist vote. The Socialist movement of the United States comprises those persons who *think* Socialism or any of its doctrines. Any one who favors a proposal to take powers from the individual and place them in the hands of the State, is a Socialist, and is contributing of his strength to bring into existence the Socialistic State. Our seats of learning, the universities, particularly the chairs of political economy of the universities, reek with Socialists and Socialism. Many of the occupants of these chairs frankly admit their adherence to this policy; others, however, would deny, if accused that they are Socialists, though few would not admit sympathy with Socialism.

Revolution, chaos, industrial reign of terror, culminating in a reorganized government "bought at the price of peace" in which the man has next to no rights, but the State is all, this is the fate which in the minds of these savants overhangs the country. So feeling, so believing, they can look with complacency on the scenes that transpired in Colorado last month, and which have been going on almost continuously over the country for years, in which the issue between the coal mine owners and the union was the closed shop, with the grim consciousness that these things are inevitable.

It is interesting information that the principle of free contract for services has been "abandoned almost everywhere else in the coal fields of the United States and England," but it is more interesting when we are told that this sort of thing is, "leading toward industrial peace and social progress." The vast nation-wide coal miners and traffic strikes of England which brought business in that country to a standstill, and

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caused suffering untold to the poor, and vast losses to the well-to-do and to the nation, are too recent to call for any recital here.

There is no nation in which labor unionism is in proportion to population more highly developed than it is in England, in which it wields more political power, where its doctrines are in more widespread practice or where the effects of its operations are more abundantly and distinctly manifest. Its Labor Party in 1910 polled 506,000 votes, with the radical groups polling 123,000 more, making a total of 629,000 labor votes, and holding forty seats in Parliament. And from a survey of the industrial field of England it is apparent that in the development of labor unionism, Socialism, labor unionism and anarchism coalesce, and take the form of Syndicalism. This result is most natural. The tendency of laborism is to unify, solidify, to enmass and become mobile; and in this shape it will enforce its demands with the universal strike. Socialism has divided society into two classes, the labor class and the capitalist class, between which, by the nature of their relative occupations, it asserts there is irreconcilable conflict. The employment of the former by the latter is defined as "exploitation" of the laborer by the capitalist. The war upon the capitalist is for his extermination and nothing short of this will meet the Socialist program. As all of these terms and tenets have been adopted by the labor unions in Europe, there is a merging of all into a common Socialistic mass, which coincides with that of an army, and the simultaneous strike is analogous to a general charge on the field of battle.

It is plain to see our destiny in the United States with our industrial movement proceeding upon these false doctrines. The real and ultimate power in laborism is the latest which has appeared, the Independent Workers of the World, the American name for the Syndicalists.

Syndicalism first appeared in the United States in the "mass" organization of the Knights of Labor, and expressed itself in action in the American Railway Union, headed by Eugene V. Debs. This concern brought about the Pullman strike at Chicago in 1894. The Western Federation of Miners has been the most explicit exponent of its shade of the Socialist doctrine, as expressed in its various mining strikes, commencing in the Colorado strike in 1904, also that of recent date. These strikes have always been attended with destructive violence, such as the dynamiting of mills, as well as armed warfare.

The laborites are at present divided into two wings, those who favor trade autonomy as represented by the labor unions, and those who stand for industrial union.

The influence which holds the elements apart is the conservatism of those who are content with the present status of their union affairs, believing that their union can get for them whatever they want; these are chiefly contained within the orders of the steam railway unions. Aside from this the influence which keeps the several components of the labor world apart is mere jealousy of leaderships. Even in the case of the railway unions, the prevailing condition will not long obtain. The pressure of ever rising cost of living behind the unions will continue to force out of the hands of their owners and into those of the government, thereby accomplishing thus much of the Socialistic State program, or there will be strikes which will consolidate the other divisions of the industrial army, and we shall have in the United States the same expression of the mass strike which is moving in England.

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It is a notion of the Socialist agitator that not only will the country be converted into a Socialist State but that he will be landed high in the councils of the made over nation. In this he is mistaken. The great genii in American life of this day are not in politics. They are in invention and finance—those fields in which the largest rewards requited their efforts.

(To be Continued)

Elocution would have more value if, in addition to teaching us how to speak, it would teach us when.

Social Tendencies

PART VI. (Continued)

"The Class Struggle"

By W. T. BETHUNE

WE have already called attention to the fact that the brute struggle to satisfy our animal desires by appropriating the wealth that others produce has its genesis in the legal right of workers, using certain industrial locations, to appropriate more wealth out of their class fund than they contribute to the common stock. We have found that competition for these locations brings wages to a common level and gives rise to Rent; and out of a desire to appropriate Rent spring political conflicts for legal ownership of locations.

Now, for political action, the whole body of workers is the principal source of the voting power, i. e., of potential physical force. And in the struggle between groups for legislation favorable to their particular group, it is necessary, in order to be successful, to secure a majority of the workers' votes.

In order to get the support of workers (as voters) in their efforts to secure legislation that will maintain or increase the dividends (Rent) that come from their legal ownership of industrial locations, "financiers" (professional controllers of governing bodies) appeal to the material interests of the workers. For instance: Financiers acting for the capitalists who legally own the coal fields unite in launching a political movement calling for a tax on imported coal, so as to increase the revenue from coal lands. Their political henchmen incorporate a coal tariff plank in a party platform and electioneer for votes. Of course, they get votes and active campaign work from the voters who, individually, or as stock-holders, own coal lands or other real estate in coal producing sections. They get the votes of coal miners and other employes of coal companies on the plea that higher prices for coal mean higher wages for these workers. They get the votes of farm owners and farm workers by convincing them they will have a home market and thus get higher prices and higher wages, and so on. On the other hand financiers who are interested in getting dividends from industries that use large quantities of coal, launch a counter movement. They get the votes of iron miners and iron workers, railroad workers and workers in other industries where much coal is used, on the ground that the increase

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in price of coal used in these industries must come out of the workers' wages. And so of all other political schemes and ballot-box battles. They are launched and engineered by opposing groups of financiers in their efforts to out-general each other in exploiting the Rent fund. In this way financiers are always the initiators of political movements and they mass their voting retainers for ballot-box battles.

The same kind of voting battles are waged amongst the stock holders (legal owners) in every corporation. But, as the primary source of dividends is the Rent that springs from the legal ownership of locations, individuals have voting power in proportion to their ownership in the corporation property—shares of stock. And whoever controls a majority vote of stock, controls the policy of the corporation. Here again financiers play the part of organizers and directors of factions, to assist them in their struggle for power to control the policy of the corporation in their own interests. Thus the great mass of workers and stockholders make up the political and financial armies of warring financiers. The predatory desires of workers and stockholders—their desire to take out of the common stock more than they put in—is the motive that prompts them to divide up in forming these opposing factions.

This is why workers are not "class conscious" for political action against capitalists. They are equally as eager as capitalists to legally appropriate wealth without expending its labor equivalent in adding to the common stock. Primarily the struggle is not between capitalists; nor is it between capitalists and workers; it is between workers.

Everything else being equal, what would be the result if each existing group of capitalists should turn over all their property rights to the group of workers using each industrial location? Would the "lucky" workers (those using the locations where they can take out the most wealth in proportion to what they contribute to the common fund) voluntarily refrain from taking advantage of their position? Or would they take as much as they can out of their class fund, irrespective of how much labor they expended in adding to the common stock? Would, or would not, the groups of coal miners operating the thick and easily accessible veins pool their earnings with all other coal mining groups and divide the gross sum equally amongst all the coal miners?

That the workers would take advantage of their legal ownership of locations and appropriate all they could out of their class fund, irrespective of how much they contributed to the common stock, is self-evident. Workers today do not hesitate to take advantage of their legal rights to combine in trades-unions, etc., in order to maintain and increase their wages at the expense of other workers. When workers thus exploit the wage fund there is no reason to believe they would not, as legal owners, exploit the common product of their industrial class, and thus keep on generating Rent.

It is this desire for legal plunder, common today with men, that invalidates the Socialist program. Even supposing it were possible for socialistic labor leaders to get together a large enough following of wage-earning voters to give them control of the governing body; after the ex-appropriation of capitalists (through the State recalling all its property rights in locations and capital) and the putting of all industry under the management of the State, struggles between political factions for power to direct the distribution of the common product would inevitably arise. And again, financiers would take the initiative in develop-

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ing political issues and in organizing and directing the voting armies so as to secure legislation by which they can legally plunder the common stock of wealth. The same would happen, only on a smaller scale, if the Single-Taxers should succeed in getting the State to recall its ownership of industrial locations.

Not until all grades of workers are ready to voluntarily pool their wages and divide up on the basis of equal pay for equal labor time, will they be ready to voluntarily refrain from legally plundering their common fund. Not until then will the capitalists disappear; for it is Rent that gives rise to capitalists and Rent is generated through the conflict between workers for locations where they can take out the most finished wealth in proportion to labor expended in contributing to the common stock.

That this time is fast approaching, we confidently believe. Present-day social conditions lead us to believe that the time is about ripe for the birth of a new conception of social life in the human consciousness. Men are beginning to question the authority and sacred nature of the State and of "Society." Here and there, in the social body, are individuals who, realizing that the State is a predatory institution, can no longer feel that the consent of the State absolves them from personal responsibility for their brutal actions; men who feel that the standard of "justice" erected by the State, instead of uniting men in a harmonious whole through which the social life current has free play, really divides men into masters and slaves and impedes the flow of life in the social body by damming the current with the desires of man's animal nature; men who accept the promptings of their inner consciousness as the highest expression of social justice; men who, scorning to shift responsibility for their actions upon some outside power, stand erect and proclaim their denial of outside authority and gladly submit to the test of personal responsibility. And such is the superior urge of man's social nature that, unless reinforced by some recognized outside, superior authority, his animal desires are subordinate to and controlled by the higher life forces diffused through the social organism of which he is an inseparable part. The constitution of man is such that, once freed from the delusion that he must look for an outside intelligence to erect for him a standard of social justice, he will respond to the urge of his inner consciousness and give free play to the social life forces within him that are now struggling for expression in action. Man never can be satisfied with a mere animal existence. Wealth and dominion over his fellowmen do not satisfy the cravings of his higher nature. Nay, they but intensify the need for full self-expression in social service. The restlessness of the hungry animal man can be stilled by filling his stomach. But his soul hunger cannot be satisfied by looking upon mountains of wealth and being able to say, "this is mine." His higher nature craves the satisfaction of feeling that he is recognized by his fellows as filling an essential part in the life of the social body—that he is a "success" in life. And it is because of our false standard of success, a standard that measures a man's usefulness in society by the legal property he controls, that men strive and scheme to get wealth and power, thus degrading the powers of man's higher nature to the service of the brute, and perverting the natural impulse for action in social service into the present-day fierce animal struggle for "business" supremacy. Thus, no matter how high the general standard of material well-being, with our

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false common standard of "success" the inequality in riches that comes from inequality in predatory powers begets "superior" and "inferior" classes and an unending struggle of individuals to get into a "higher" class. Accepting this common standard of "success" the rich strive to get richer, and the poor, worsted in the struggle for riches, save their self-respect by blaming the rich for "unfairness" in playing the game!

It is amongst the members of the wealthy, ruling class that the life current of the social body is most sluggish and weak. With them the brute man has run riot, unchecked by the surge of organic life forces that sweep through and unite the poor in the bond of common suffering. Nothing isolates a man from his fellows like riches. The richer he gets, the more terribly alone he becomes. And in a panic of fear, in an effort to strengthen the life current that binds him to his fellows, he turns from the getting to the giving of wealth; only to find that the sharing of his abundance brings but a bastard pleasure as compared with the joy and gladness that comes to the poor through sharing a crust in their poverty.

No, it is not hunger for bread that causes the seething unrest of our times. It is the current of life surging through the social organism and sweeping away the delusions of the brute in man—clearing the way for the rule of the god-in-man who will triumph through social service and love.

(To be Continued)

A man is judged by his deeds; also by what he doesn't do.

The Circle of the Labor Movement*

By J. K. TURNER

Chapter XVII.

The Great International Association of Artists

AT the time when Jesus was teaching the people, this organization was at the height of its power, its membership numbering several millions in the various cities and districts of proconsular Rome. It had survived the attacks of the Roman conquests, had outlived the war policy of suppression by extermination, and had gathered strength through mutual protection.

The headquarters of the Association were at Teos. It had branches in Greece, Macedonia, Palestine, Phrygia, Syria, Egypt, Italy and Gaul.

While the organization was supposed to be strictly musical and histrionic, it embraced more than a dozen trades of mechanical and professional men. Among the trades connected with it were the tentmakers, of which Paul was a member. Masons, gardeners, makers of musical instruments, engravers, tailors, cooks, butchers, scene painters, and other trades were embraced in this great international organization.

The great Ionian synod was a union of these artists, and came under the Aetolian law legalizing them all through the Ionian cities. They were connected with the synod of Teos. Their business was public amusement and teaching. To a large extent they were employed by the state or municipal corporations.

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Schools of good size and excellence arose and flourished everywhere. Their teachers became often very popular with the wealthy families who patronized them, sending their sons, and rarely, their daughters to be educated, preparing them for their debut into society.

The reason that these unions were popular with the wealthy people, while unions of the regular trades were persecuted by them, was because they were obsequious, paying most respectful homage to all persons of power.

The actors were numerous at Tralles in Asia Minor. They were worshippers of Hermes, the latin Mercury, giver of good luck, the divinity believed to preside over skill, sciences, public business, etc. In this respect Hermes differed little from Dionysas, who was the "ennobler of mankind, the giver of joys." Their temples were used for devotional exercises and rehearsals, schools, and evening meetings as well as their common meals.

The Great Ionian Theatrical Society had powerful churches. They were designated by German Archaeologists as "Gemeinden" in a dozen cities, chief among which was Teos. At Tyre, there was one performing the agonies. At Rome and many parts of Italy, there were organizations known as the Lupercalia (societies of play actors) and they became so powerful that the attention of the senate was many times called to them. Cicero speaks of them in terms of contempt, due probably to the fact that Clodius, his enemy, is known to have defended the working men and their organizations, while Cicero hated and persecuted them.

ANCIENT MUSIC

Associated with the great International Association of Artists and playwrights, 2,000 years ago, were the composers and writers of music. They had a knowledge of written music. This discovery was made in 1895, when their music was found chiseled upon the pronaos of the Temple of the Pythian Apollo at Delphi, an ancient city at the foot of Mt. Parnassus. Delphi, classic and beautiful, still nestles at the foot of Mt. Parnassus, in a craggy dell, with gushing springs, oriental birds and crag-climbing herds, the only survivors of its ancient majesty. The great mountain spring, the Castalia, is the same whose water, when tasted by the priest and priestess in charge of the secret work, caused them to fall into a trance, and to sing in inarticulate tones the dirges and requiems of the great Apollo.

The ancient musical guilds were the composers of the Delphic hymns. It is probable that these hymns were not written until after the conquest of Greece by the Romans, in B. C. 146. In the ancient Greek music, notes were written in a straight line and not in a scale of ascending and descending notes as at present. There were many characters of different power and tone and they were known by their shape and not by the position of the note.

There was great rivalry in musical performances of the Dionysan artists. Their skill was great and they were very popular.

The favorite theme which the people enjoyed seeing played and acted was the martyrdom of their god. In Phrygia the god was Attys or Odonis; in Egypt, Osiris; in Teos, Dionysas Kathegemona; in Caucassus, Prometheus. Each messiah, on the rack of torture, in his dying gasp, gave up the ghost imploring the great Father to forgive his perse-

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cutors and through his death to redeem humanity. The people were drawn together from all parts of the country and gave their hard-earned pittances to attend these agonies.

These unions were thoroughly organized and made pilgrimages from one part of the country to the other. When the Christians appeared, they found these unions existing in every corner of the world. The spirit of their beautiful music has been handed down to us. They acquired property, as time went on, and owned their own schools and temples. They adopted Christianity as their religion. A member, named Nepos, a heretic, delighted the people by singing psalms. This was construed by the priests to be a sin, and they were attacked and suppressed finally by the Council of Laodicea, A. D. 363. The church claimed that psalms composed by mere laymen were not inspired. These ambitious prelates obtained the property of the organizations and annihilated them under the accusation that their music was not inspired, and that the common table was criminal except for the priesthood.

The suppression of these unions at Laodicea sealed the doom of Christianity and its music for 1500 years.

Most writers, overlooking the distinction between true trades unions and guilds of the feudal ages, treat them no better than the truckling, beggary guilds of the feudal ages, manipulated by petty bosses, who so catered to the feudal lords that they were extinguished by the French Revolution. It was largely this enslavment of their membership and the accumulations of unpaid labor which built up the extremes of wealth and poverty in Europe previous to 1789.

These pre-Christian unions were of both sexes, voting trades unions. Their object in combining was to obtain better chances for their physical and mental endowments. Through their own voluminous inscriptions, we find that while society and statesmen of the great competing world were grasping, immoral and cruel, the members of this organization were moral and religious. They knew the dignity of labor and were not ashamed to perform it.

They conformed to the usages of the times. The principle upon which they were founded was to love one another. While this is a purely Christian precept, it was practiced a thousand years before Christ. Unions based upon this principle existed in the world in great numbers before the birth of Christ. They were at the height of their power at the time of the Apostles.

While they lived in a time of great profligacy, their morals were looked upon as a pattern. They held themselves aloof from the temptations of the world. This was especially true regarding marriage. Monogamous marriage was held very sacred. The slave population and their descendant freedmen and women practiced marriage in spite of the hostile statutes forbidding it, and they are said to have laid the basis of marriage under the Christian regime. The burial attachment, which was legalized, also encouraged marriage.

The fundamental tenets of the millions of members of this organization were to be pure, respectful, honest to one another, upright, and to love their neighbors as themselves. They were driven to it by the cruelty of their masters who held them as chattels and after aeons of misery, men like Solon and Numa legalized their unions, hitherto illicit. Until the Advent the order was hidden in impenetrable secrecy.

In addition to their burial attachment, they were shielded by the

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Roman statute known as lex collegia funeraticia, which permitted them unlimited organization for centuries and which afterward was the law by which the Christians were able to shield and legalize them after they were engrafted into economic unions all over the world. This law saved Christianity from destruction.

The entrance fee was thirty drachmas, $5.28. They were compelled to have a good character to enter. If they were dismissed, they could, by good behavior, become members again. The dues were used to buy food for the common table, to which all members had equal right.

Meetings were held regularly once a week, and attendance was compulsory to assure collection of dues. These same rules of initiation were practiced by the fisherman's union of Hierapolis, and the dues were the same. These practices were observed in all countries, as well as among all trades unions and professions, organized under the laws of Solon.

We find that a union of playwrights at Teos fell into debt and applied to the international organization for help at the time of the Dionysan festivities. The main synod, in considering the matter, used its influence upon the public commissioners of the city to have them perform at the festivities, and also assisted the union in its own way.

The old Solonic organizations also received donations from the rich and from persons of means who became members of the organization because they admired the institution. These people were honored with a memorial banquet. The unions were often very poor and glad to get aid. They were persecuted by petty traders who hated them because of their wholesale purchases. The state was their best and principal benefactor.

The ancient unions, before they became associated with the Christians, worshipped a goddess named Nemesis, a divinity presiding over human fortunes. She is represented as holding a scale of justice to all men and is spoken of in the writings of many authors as the goddess of vengeance, protectress of dumb animals, and against the brutality of men.

Their system of fines included fines for non-attendance, awards accruing from lawsuits, and fines for mutilating property. The latter, the most common, was mostly from offenders who mutilated graves. It was a serious thing to meddle with the sepulchres of the sacred dead. The burial attachment was more for the sake of legalizing their unions. than for the benefits derived. Fining members for trivial offenses was sometimes carried to extremes and their names inscribed to their everlasting infamy.

Charity, beggary and blasphemy were not allowed. The giving of alms is an invention of church prelates, not of Christianity. The unions wanted no charity. They furnished their members with work, kindness to the sick, food at the common table, and burial with honors. Its members were compelled to work or starve.

(To be Continued)

Somehow or other the fellow who always says "I told you so" never seems to win any bets.

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The Foreigner's Home

By FELIX J. KOCH

JUST suppose you were dropped penniless,—unable to speak a word of the language,—out of touch with manners and customs, encountering everywhere the age-old prejudice against hiring or engaging a foreigner, in some interior city of China or perhaps of Turkey in Asia. Suppose you were willing and anxious to work, and after you trudged the streets, offered your services where you could, you saw your little "nest-egg" dwindling,—'till finally, you didn't know the words by which to beg or to tell the police,—of whom you stood in boundless awe—your need.

Conceive, if you can, some such situation as this; and then you begin to realize what haven of refuge there is offered by the Foreigner's Home.

The Foreigner's Home, in fact, is unique. It encourages men who are willing to work. It sets no time-limit on the period to which it extends its care. It feeds the men. It houses them, as long as they wish. The food is frugal, and the rooms are almost bare. Thus men are spurred on and on to better, ever better things. They encourage men to stay, be satisfied, only so long as the man needs food, shelter, aid and until he learns how to get a job and learns how to care for himself in the new land.

Should you visit the Foreigner's Home on Pleasant Street in Cincinnati, and find only nine inmates to the big brick domicile, you would wonder whether any great amount of good was being done. Nine men are nine men, of course, but when viewed by the hundreds of inmates of other charities, the number seems slight indeed. Then come to talk to these men, to their predecessors in the home, you learn the result of "moral suasion." You learn that while the home is only in its fourth year, it has helped, to date, over four thousand stranded foreigners. All this by moral suasion, showing the man first of all, that there are jobs to be had if, first, he wears American clothing, conforms to American ways, and more important still, he doesn't expect the American to learn his language, respect his ways. But just as fast as he actually can, he learns those of his adopted country. That the men obey, that they study, night after night, that they keep weather-eye on Jack Roosa and the other Americans who go by and very soon "hold" the jobs that are found for them and advance in them, so that they can quit the Home for places of their own,—speaks wonders for moral suasion.

Mr. Michael Schwartz, the founder of this Foreigner's Home, tells an interesting story of his labors.

Schwartz was a very poor boy in Hungary. Five years ago he, like his charges of today, felt the call of America. Like every other of these misguided emigrants, he believed that America was a big, a very big land, where work was more plentiful than workers, where wages paid were so big one saved more than one used, and where only one thing was required and that the one thing the foreigner has had with him time out of mind, through necessity, WILLINGNESS TO WORK! So Schwartz came to America. Very soon he learned of the pariah taste that attaches to the foreigner who seeks a job.

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You and I, native-born Americans, can never realize this caste prejudice. We cannot know what it means to the intelligent young architect from Hungary, whose business was ruined by the war with Servia and forced him to seek a new land, because Hungary had no work to give and his efforts to secure a place here and be greeted with:

"Chase yerself! We got no jobs for Hunks!"

The intelligent Hebrew who managed to get out of the land of persecution, feels the sting of the refusal.

That is the spirit that greets the newly-arrived foreigner.

Schwartz went thru all this and established his Home to shelter and protect his fellowman and undertook the task of fitting him to take his place in this new world. This Home is the first point of contact between the stranded emigrant and this big country.

Schwartz started this work in Cincinnati. Charity workers heard of the results and he was given a mission-property of the Ninth Street Baptist Church. Through this, through the police, who soon came to admire his efforts, and other emigrant aid societies, he began getting men, men who were willing to work, who needed to be "started right."

Hungarians, first of all, flocked to him. Then came Italians, Greeks and Roumanians, Germans, French and others.

Today, this army of men comes from all nationalities, to be clad American-wise, then given some of the Schwartz type of instruction and advice and not only do the Cincinnati police direct the foreigner who is in need there, but consuls of charitable organizations in Chicago, Baltimore, and even as far off as San Francisco, have been sending the needy to Schwartz.

Two, three, sometimes as much as eight months, men will stay here. Often it becomes a matter of attachment for the man to the place. They pay no board, no lodging fees. The Home makes every effort to find enjoyment and meanwhile, to transform the man.

From the very first day when they take him down to the second-hand store to improve his appearance, the change begins. By day the men hunt jobs, try them, and work. At evening there is night school. They are taught our A B C through the media of their mother-language. They must study American ways until they are American at heart.

Evenings, after the night school, they read or write or chat. No constraint, no rules, no laws save those any private home would observe. The men are urged, when they can afford it, to indulge in proper recreation.

It costs an average of $6 to $7 per month to maintain a man in the Foreigner's Home.

Woeful indeed are the tales some tell. One man helped here, had been thirteen days from Baltimore to Cincinnati, without a decent meal on the way. A foreigner and a hobo—the farmers and towns-people sized him up. His appeals for work, in a strange tongue, were to them plain begging.

In the four years of the Home four thousand men have been helped. Private charities sustain it. It is non-sectarian and open to all nationalities.

Out of its work there have come wholesome lessons for the foreigner

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about to emigrate. He should know that while America is waiting with open arms for the emigrant to come, before he comes, he should have learned something of our language and ways, enough at least to conform to our customs so as not to be conspicuous and helpless. We are learning that these new-comers will work as well as any native-born American will. There's many a diamond in the rough, as Schwartz puts it, awaiting polishing here. There's many a patriot, ready to work and to study nights, till he's naturalized, then to bring over his kin, to develop with this nation and bring up his children to become loyal, enterprising, and desirable elements among our citizenry.

The right to limit the corporation to a fair return, fixed by public authority, necessarily involves the correlative right in the corporation to be assured of that fair return during all the time that its capital is employed in the public service, reasonably good management being assumed.

Power Given to Use—Not Abuse

IF power is accorded to a group, it is not an indication alone of ability. Rather it should be accepted as an indication that they are selected to direct as far as possible the power thus entrusted for the benefit of all, for all.

The period of which there is so much complaint about the abuse of power has been justified by the fact that the power thus developed has been arrogated to one direction only. That is, to obtain more power, not realizing that power grows through expansion and not contraction.

Men who have power must recognize that the power came to them only through proper understanding and appreciation of the fundamental necessity of wise direction. This wise direction has been misapplied or rather applied only to one end, and consequently developed a negative quality which produced conditions complained of. If they have not retained the respect and confidence that they must necessarily have had to gather together this power, they have got to a point where they must appreciate that they alone are responsible for it.

Confidence and respect only comes with understanding and if their positions are misconstrued, it is an indication of ignorance in place of knowledge or understanding. Would you have the confidence of the people, then remember that confidence in the people invites the people's confidence. It will not do to say, as has been said: "If we start to explain, we will be always explaining." This is an indication of one of two things—inability to explain or lack of ability to grasp the explanation. In either event explanations that explain will always appeal to the spirit of justice in man.

When a man, no matter whom, how, or where, or why, is deprived of that which he desires, requires, or thinks he is entitled to, first he

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resents and resists, protests and exclaims. This availing naught, reason then applies, and if he is a reasonable man, when reason applies he listens to reason and reason should be afforded him. We insist that the reasonable man predominates. Else chaos would prevail. It is only due to unreason that differences appear between men.

You men of affairs have too long permitted unreasoning doubters to sway the popular mind; that they suffer more through their unreason than you is a criticism upon your ability, integrity, and honesty for the liar thrives only while truth is silent. If passion rules reason, destruction is inevitable, but when reason exposes passion, truth sinks home and confidence is restored.

It is Time to Wake Up

Editor of THE MEDIATOR,

The Federal bureau states there were 398,000 unemployed in the city of New York; 25 per cent. of this vast number of unemployed are out of work on account of strikes. They have migrated to New York from all sections of the country because it is a dead easy refuge for the unemployed.

A high per cent. of these unfortunates, who are carpenters, painters, steamfitters, plumbers, plasterers, iron workers and men of other trades, have been called out from good positions, paying from 40 to 60 cents an hour. Many of them could, and would gladly return to their former positions but for fear of personal injury to themselves or families from strikers and gangsters. Another class of the unemployed are non-union men, discharged on the demand of labor agitators because they would not join the union.

There are 1,000,000 workers in the United States out of employment on account of strikes. In Chicago alone there are 20,000, 10,000 carpenters demanding an increase in wages from 65 to 75 cents an hour. The so-called unrest condition, the tendency to rioting and destruction of property, the alarming number of unemployed, the high cost of living, privation and suffering among the poor, are the result of strikes. Weak kneed legislators, both National and State, have enacted laws protecting the striker. He may attack and beat up the honest laborer on his way to work; he may intimidate and threaten the only breadwinner in the family, and if he or she return to work during a strike, he may encourage rioting; he may tie up railway traffic by attacking the crews and escape conviction before the courts.

The union agitator calls strikes where the employed are being paid from 40 to 50 cents an hour; he orders sympathy strikes, throwing thousands out of employment who are perfectly satisfied and contented; he orders a strike of the petty officers and crews on the ocean liners in mid-ocean, causing delay and expense. Labor leaders have recently invaded the legislature of New York, dictating terms whereby their hands would be kept off.

Is it not time to wake up, when one man has the power to shut off all supplies for a city; to put a brake on every car wheel; to tie up every delivery truck; to tie up all shipping; to shut down all water, gas, and electric plants; to cripple all mail service; and even destroy the city? Labor leaders definitely asserted before the Federal Industrial Commission that such a calamity will occur, "if it takes a hundred years."

A. W. CARTER.

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The Mediator

GERMAN-AMERICAN EDITION

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CLEVELAND, OHIO

WESTERN REPRESENTATIVE

FRANK PALLA

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LET REASON RULE

LET us pause and reflect, and remember that there never is an effect without a cause.

Why is it that it has been reserved to but the immediate past generations that the wonderful strides and developments made in every direction in the advancement of comfort and civilization should be rather slow, gradual development than generations which preceded these?

The forces which made possible these developments were as potential and as valuable in the past. Then why was it that they did not develop in those ages, and suddenly develop within a comparatively few and recent years?

The intelligent man permits naught but reason to assist his judgment, and in considering this phenomena, must reason back from effect to cause.

On the open hills, free and unrestrained, the pine tree grows in stately majesty. It is seen and admired and is useful to man. Yet we import from Japan the stunted pine as a matter of curiosity. Do we ever stop to reason that the Japanese dwarf pine is valuable only as a monstrosity, and if we compare it to the natural pine, we will understand that this dwarfed tree is the result of interference with the natural growth of the tree, by man, who restricted and prevented its growth and development?

All of Nature's products are unrestricted and free. When they are not, they are not natural products. In this we have a parallel.

In the ages preceding the era of the marvelous growth and development under consideration, man was confined, restricted, hampered and

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not permitted natural development, and thus produced an unnatural result.

In the era of this development of progress, bordering on the miraculous, that marks this and the last century, man was not only permitted unrestricted growth and development, but was encouraged by example. He built and knew the joy of creation and realized that the joy of success in every field of effort in which he sought to excel was in success and not in the results of success. For the results, measured by sordid means, of every development came to the pioneer only through the usefulness of the development as it was recognized and accepted by all.

If encouragement, emulation, and opportunity in their widest and broadest sense operated so beneficently to mankind in this comparatively short period as to far out-strip the development of man through the centuries of restriction, regulation and circumspection, why a division? Why condemnation of success? Why an attempt to turn back the hands on the clock of progress?

"What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his soul?" has been taught for ages. Applied to individual man, the soul is not the corporate man. The body lasts but a time; the soul we only know through its deeds. If man's deeds are selfish and grasping, the soul is lost; for the faults of men die with them. But the good that men do lives on forever. We judge our fellow man by the use that his deeds have been and are to us and not through his abuse of us, as the false pleader teaches us.

Man "Know thyself." If you do, and are true in your knowledge of yourself, you know that inherent in your nature is love of ease and of the things that will please self first; then those things that will please our immediate circle. As you enlarge your circle of usefulness, embracing others, do you stand out among men. This is inherent in my nature. It is inherent in yours. It is inherent in the natures of all men. That is why we marvel when we observe natures so much greater than ours that they seem to embrace in their circle the entire universe, as it were, in proportion to their power and influence.

The fruits of success as gauged by man are wealth and power. These fruits come to man not through any direct intention or greed or avarice behind his methods, but they come through recognition of success. For the power and wealth of all the people are in the hands of all the people always.

I care not tho a man may gather all the power and tangible evidence of wealth of a life time. It is useless and powerless in his hands unless it is used for all. Should avarice or greed actuate its possessors, it soon leaves their possession. Thus the fact that a man possesses wealth and power indicates only that he was and is an instrument of value to an increasing membership of his circle, which originally possessed in the unit, that which is now in the combined mass operating through his power. Even this was contributed by the individual for one or two reasons,—as a tribute to success, or to purchase part of the results of success.

Mathematics, simple mathematics, through which men deal with each other, tell us that when you add one to one, it makes two; and when you subtract one from one, it leaves nothing. The same simple mathematics demonstrates that nothing from something cannot be taken and that nothing added to something adds nothing.

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Then why revert to policies of nothing? Why listen to the vapid mouthings of failures whose mis-spent lives demonstrate the fact that they have added nothing to that something of which they demand a division?

"Consider the lilies of the field. They toil not, neither do they spin." The lilies of the field struggled up through the muck and mire, through the only natural way that a lily can attain growth. It came up through struggles in darkness towards the sunlight, and it was after it had struggled into the light, and not before, that it developed those qualities of beauty and purity which Solomon the all-wise and powerful of his time could not emulate.

Life has three stages—anticipation, realization and satiety. Anticipation is that period of coming up through the darkness into the light of understanding. Realization is reaching the light, growing and unfolding thru that glorious development of the intellect in the knowledge of useful recognized effort and its consequent joy and success. Satiety is decay and death.

Every previous civilization in history shows these stages of development and decay. The present seems to be in the second stage. As in every other stage of civilization, it has developed a cult of parasites who would dwarf and stunt the lily's growth and make the natural concomitant of freedom of opportunity to success a monstrosity of a dwarfed civilization for their selfish benefit.

We should beware of the fatal development of a spirit of condemnation, criticism, and discouragement. Should the ninety and nine who have sought and found success be deprived of the fruits of their thoughtfulness and the provident development of their natures because of the one thoughtless drone of the hive?

"Go to the bee, thou sluggard." Yes, go to the bee, and see how the busy bee respects the clamor of and treats the drone of the hive.

Unless ye sow, ye shall not reap."

Face facts—and proceed.

Dreamers

THE world is made up of three kinds of men, who are all needed here. The first is the one who plods through the forest and points out the way for those who follow. This is true in every sense of man's efforts—physical, mental and spiritual. In all grades of civilization, these three kinds of men are always found—the Dreamer, the Thinker, and the Doer.

The first dreams, tells his dream, and passes on. After he is not, the thinker ponders over the dream, and tells what it means, and how it is possible of fruition. And after he passes on, the worker works out the dream in the thinker's way, and behold! We have the dream re-created.

The dreamer dreams both kinds of dreams, those which advance the comfort of man, both from the physical and mental, and those that hamper. Mankind's errors are in the interpreting of the dreams. As man is destructive by nature, as his whole life is a battle between the

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forces that build and destroy, hence he more readily listens to the dreams of the iconoclast. It is in tune with his physical being. But as he develops his mental being, he is always creating and creative.

All that destructive forces can do is destroy. Hence evil forces are always forgotten when the effects have passed. Only good deeds are remembered of men. The creative forces are ever present and omnipresent. They never die. Man being material, is prone to reason matter as he observes it in and from his nature. Hence the destructive qualities in the lower or non-intellectual stages indicates the need of constructive dreamers in a constantly increasing ratio. This is coming; every time man tears down, he rebuilds better or worse in proportion as he is ruled by or through his material (physical) or mental being.

Man must always rule or be ruled; the fact that few rule the many indicates that the few are in advance of the many. It matters not how they rule. The fact remains that they rule, and as long as the few rule, it means that the many cannot rule themselves.

"Man's inhumanity to man" is the proverb of the extremist. Man is not inhuman. The fact is that he is not a whole man, only a part of a man, the grosser part. Evolution will eventually bring forth a full man. The world has as yet to look on one, but it is coming and coming through the aid of the dreamer, the one whose dreams are not circumscribed but who can dream a whole dream and not parts of the great all.

No man can govern himself, much less others. He is afraid. His fear produces sufferings, agonies, and death. There is no reason for him to be afraid of any man, not even of himself. Suffering, agony, disease, starvation, are but concomitants of fear, the bugaboo that has held man enslaved since he came out of the cave and made war against other forms of life.

The waves of the seashore roll up and on ever. Yet they recede to their level in the finality. And when they are in their natural level, they are calm, placid and untroubled, a joy in themselves, to all live forms of life that live off of them, because of their life-giving qualities. They are never disturbed of their own volition. It is only when they are aroused and angered by outside influences that they rise in their might and their silent breathing becomes the most terrific sound in the world.

Man is largely water, and partakes of these strange attributes, easily aroused, and equally destructive as the waves of the seas and as easily calmed, when the cause has disappeared. But water at least has no volition and man has. He must learn to use it, or it will be used by others to his destruction.

Enlightened self-interest pays dividends.

Remember the Railroad Employe

A RECENT Pennsylvania Railroad bulletin gives a list of nearly sixty employes retired last month on pension. The total number of employes now carried on the "Roll of Honor," as the pension list is called, is 4,431. Since 1900, $11,370,843.89 has been paid out in this way. Four of the men just retired have served the road continuously for over half a century.

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Other roads care for their men when they are too old to work and furnish cheap and certain insurance in case of death or illness, an example being the elaborate "relief" system of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. It is true that in most cases the men contribute directly or indirectly to these funds. But the railroads also contribute and provide plans whereby the men and their families get benefits that would otherwise be greatly missed.

The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad was the first of the Eastern roads to organize all its men in a general scheme for the continual study and maintenance of safety. Other roads have followed suit. They all took the suggestion from the work of Claim Agent Richards of the Chicago Northwestern Railroad, who deserves to be remembered as the father of the safety movement.

Now the public is apt to forget that relentless pressure on the railroads may have a good many results beside cutting off dividends. It is pretty certain to affect sooner or later such work as the pensioning of old employes, care of the families of men who have died or who are laid up, and work for the safety of all of us. Even the most violent hater of railroads would scarcely argue that funds of this kind ought to be cut.—*New York Sun.*

The Man With a Torch

By WIGHTMAN D. ROBERTS

Author "The Man With a Job"

HECTIC, seething, restless, frantic—he; mistaking greatness of thought, he thinks it's Noise. Blind to Light of Reason, he strews Red Ruin. Driven on by a passion for the spectacular, he rages in a circle of stage fire....on street corners....amid crowds everywhere.... either speaking or writing, his words are sparks, bursting into flame. The Dramatic disdains Fact and Sequence. So does he. With him all is fire and blood and tears. These stir the emotions. Truth and Reason do not.

Nameless demons, lurking behind "the System"! Millions will cry out against these—against a dragon they can not see. Only hundreds know there is no dragon, save the one within. Millions fear and hate and would kill it; only hundreds know where to look for it. Is there vice? It is produced by "the System". Is there poverty, and suffering, and oppression? "The System" is accountable. Front pages will reek with stories of these, while Truth hides among the advertisements. The Steffeneses, the Russells, the Bakers, the Bergers, the Hearsts, the Creels—the whole hectic, restless, frantic throng, the composite, The Man with a Torch. Loud their noise; red their stage fire. Perfectly they know the restless, shifting, fugacious mob; perfectly they play upon its passions. Not for them the snail-paced recognition of ages to come; but the clapping of hands Now. If it is amid the crackling of flames, so much the better.

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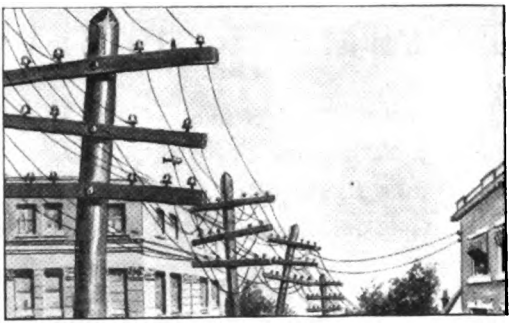
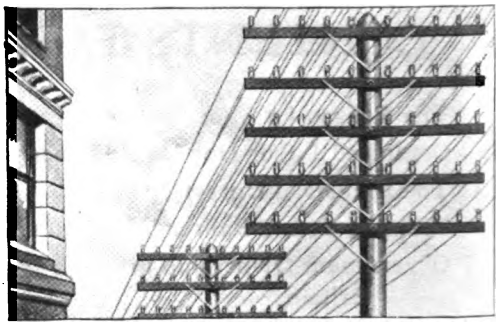
Hidden Factors of Service

Records kept like this are practically useless for the management of a business. Efficiency is impossible and funds for improvement cannot be obtained.

Records, statistics and accounts kept like this are available for a complete knowledge of the cost and efficiency of each department of the business.



Such methods result in a telephone line which can give only poor service.



The result of such records is a telephone line like this, which gives good service.

The subscriber knows the difference! He demands a well-informed, intelligent business management.

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THE MEDIATOR

VOLUME 7 CLEVELAND, OHIO, SEPTEMBER, 1915 NUMBER 9

THE REASON FOR WAR

By JAMES W. JOHNSON

IS this to be the last war? The question is often asked and it receives many answers. Our peace-loving friends would have us believe that if we would lay aside our army and navy the other nations, admiring our fine example of reliance on the principles of righteousness, would do likewise and so there could be no future war because there would be nothing to fight with. Furthermore, the doing away with the implements of war would show such a splendid trust in the amity and good will of other nations that a like feeling of peace and good will to all mankind would be aroused in them and therefore they would, in consequence, be ashamed of their former warlike propensities and would, with glad hearts and loud acclaim, herald the dawn of international good will, the long-looked-for and earnestly prayed-for realization of the dream of all sincere admirers of the Prince of Peace. What a beautiful faith in the inherent nobility of mankind shines forth in the belief of our pacifist friends!

Then, again, the men of war—the men of Belial, they might be termed by the pacifists—hold just the opposite view and for just the opposite reason. They say that since war has always existed in the world, due to the quite reasonable ambition to make one's own national ideals paramount, or because of mankind's natural greed and the baser motives common to all, that therefore war will always continue, at least for many generations to come, until the ideals of the world have been elevated far above the present standard.

Still others see in war splendid results. They hold that it stimulates, purifies and ennobles by reason of its terrible sufferings, sacrifices and the giving up of all for worthy aims. They would recall the splendid results of war for independence and our more terrible war for the preservation of the integrity of our nation when the blue and gray forgot their brotherhood in their loyalty to their idealism.

Many other answers can be found to speak the uncertainty of the world as to whether or no this most terrible of all wars our world has seen is to be the last great conflict of the nations.

Perhaps if we should consider some of the reasons given for the present war we might be better able to give a satisfactory answer.

Among the reasons presented are:

1. German imperialism and German ambition, Germany's will to win her place in the sun and Germany's ruthlessness in so doing, as witnessed by the ruin of Belgium. It is said that if Germany should achieve her aims and win the place in the sun she so ardently desires, other nations would soon find themselves eclipsed and more than that, finally subject to the wonderful energy and tremendous force of the Teuton giant. So that the safety of the world demands an impediment placed in the way of such a contingency. This opinion of the nations seems justified by the facts

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of the war thus far made evident. And yet I feel sure we have not stated the ultimate reason for the war.

2. Again, many find in England's jealousy and alarm at Germany's marvelous commercial expansion the real reason for the war. For many years now England has been mistress of the sea. Her proud title is justified by the fact that the sun never sets on her wide empire; that the numerous colonies need the protection of the mighty fleet, and more than all that, where English policy is dominant there the races of mankind are benefited by those ideals of justice and thrift which have been approved as sound by the greatest Teacher the world has ever seen, the Galilean.

It is claimed that Germany's ideals are in direct conflict with those of England and that the world approves our English cousins in taking up the gage thrown down by Germany when she trampled into dust and blood her Belgian neighbors, thereby clearly outraging that sense of justice and mercy common to mankind. So that here, indeed, is found a reason adequate for the war. However this may be, I will beg to differ from this most reasonable conclusion and state most emphatically that we have not yet found the reason for the war.

3. Another theory is the deep-seated revenge of France. About forty years ago the heart of France was sorely wounded by the loss of her two beautiful daughters, Alsace and Lorraine. Germany was the brutal ravisher. Like a tiger stung to madness by the cruel loss, France has waited for the opportunity to spring at the throat of her neighbor; and now at last the time has come and all her children are heart and soul fired with a spirit of revenge that will be satisfied by nothing less than German life and blood and the recovery of beautiful Alsace and Lorraine. Single-handed, France could never have succeeded, but now that her powerful friends, England and Russia, are found willing to join hands with her in curbing once and for all the dangerous tendencies of German ruthlessness, she believes her hope may be attained. Once again it may be frankly replied we have not yet found the reason for the war.

4. It is a long way from the sunny fields of France to the cold and frozen heart of Russia. But the stream of madness flows very swiftly in these days of war, and the torpid, sluggish, frozen Russian has become aroused at last, the summons to war has met a quick and ready response, his claws and cruel mouth are stained with the blood of his Western neighbors and his dull heart is fired with what he thinks a noble ambition, to sweep away at last the barriers which for so many centuries have, like a wall of adamant, withstood his progress to the sea. At last an open port is in sight, and that port Constantinople. A door of wider opportunity is opening and soon Russia hopes that her immense grain fields will prove a veritable stream of gold in providing food for many millions beyond her borders. Surely none can find fault with so noble an enterprise, none can question the right of Russia to improve and develop her people and incidentally to increase her wealth. Is she not justified in entering the tremendous conflict and making the most of that opportunity now presented by joining the allies and winning her way not to the sun but to the sea? Single-handed, she, too, could not hope to achieve her aim for many years to come, because time, much time, is needed yet to develop her resources and teach her millions those lessons of obedience, sacrifice and manhood absolutely essential in contending successfully with such an antagonist as Germany.

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Have we not at last the answer, or rather is not the answer to be found by the combining of all the facts stated regarding Germany, England, France and Russia? Is not the war due to the jealousies, fears and false ambitions of all these nations of Europe? Once again we must say no; but we will admit that all of these are secondary or contributory causes.

Let us try once again. Italy, the land of poetry and song, the land of art and sculpture, the home of the beautiful, the aesthetic, the delicate; Italy, whose wonderful climate and more wonderful people draw to themselves all the admirers of the elevated, the pure, the charming; Italy, even Italy has at last drawn the sword and become partner in this feast of rage, passion, blood and devilishness. Moreover, her enemies say that Italy is a traitor, a turncoat, a coward, waiting until her allies, Germany and Austria, are surrounded by the foe and weakened by many a hard-fought battle, then leaving them in the lurch and joining hands with the allies because she believes the allies will win and that she will be a sharer in the spoils of war. My opinion is that such statements are unjust to Italy. Rather do I believe that Italy, finding herself allied with nations who believe that scraps of paper may be destroyed at will, that solemn treaties may be abrogated if national ambitions run counter to them, has decided to leave such partners, finding their methods incompatible with her sense of reason and right, and has chosen wisely the best time for doing so. What folly for her in the beginning of the war to have taken such a step as she now has taken! All the world was amazed, stunned, at such action on the part of Germany. The confusion of ideas arising from such a piece of folly, the uncertainty as to her best future policy quite natural under the conditions, and the unquestioned ruin she would bring upon herself if in revenge at her disloyalty the armies of Austria "came down like a wolf on the fold, their cohorts all gleaming in purple and gold"; all these seem to me good and sufficient reasons for Italy doing as she has done. If I find that my partners are rascals, shall I forfeit my self-respect by continuing my partnership with them?

Have we not at last found the reason, the true reason for the war in Italy's decision; a decision in harmony with the sentiments of the world condemning the ruthlessness and barbarity of Germany and Austria? And once more shall we say, most emphatically, no!

Let us not puzzle ourselves any further, but say that the true reason for this war and all the wars the world has ever seen is found in the eating of an apple. Ages and ages ago, when the soul of man was born, there began a conflict in that soul entailing all the sorrow, all the tears, all the bloodshed and all the sin of man. It will be recalled that the scene was a beautiful garden filled with luscious fruits and fragrant flowers. The Owner of the garden, a man, a woman and a serpent, were the actors in a tragedy. The serpent beguiled the woman and tempted her to eat an apple; she induced her husband to partake. The Owner of the garden was angry at the man and the woman because He had told them not to eat the fruit of that particular tree. In His anger He drove them out of the garden because of their disobedience. The descendants of the man and woman inherited the tendency to disobey, and so sin came into the world. All will admit that if there was no sin in the world there would be no sorrow, no tears, no crime, no war, for all would live in peace and every one would think as carefully of his neighbor's rights

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and happiness as of his own. Now, war is like an epileptic fit. When the fit comes on the patient falls to the ground, wallowing and foaming; he is bereft of reason and is altogether a most disgusting and fearful object. The fit passes, reason returns and the patient becomes quite normal again. But the disease is still there and only time is needed for the recurrence of the terrible symptoms, declaring most positively there is no hope of release for the tortured sufferer until the cause of the disease is removed. All the wars of the world are but the recurring fits of madness and insanity which will surely continue to afflict mankind until the disease of sin is removed. Is there no hope? There still stands, glorious and beautiful, that tree whose leaves are for the healing of the nations. The leaves are a sure panacea, a never-failing cure for the terrible curse. All the world knows of the cure, ten thousand times ten thousand souls will swear to its wondrous power in their own lives and the glorious peace and calm content that follows like a benediction falling on the troubled hearts of those who take the Master at His word, who heed his call: "Come unto me and rest, take my yoke upon you and learn of me, for my yoke is easy and my burden is light."

Again, war is the rod in the hand of Almighty God, laid on the backs of disobedient children who continually flout Him, break His laws and follow their own wills. Some day the world will wake up to the fact that it is folly to arouse His anger and to invite the lightning of His wrath by such asininity, when it is very much more comfortable and pleasant to live in harmony with Him and to enjoy the favor of His approval. He showers His richest blessings on those who seek Him and who try to order their lives in accordance with His commands.

It needs but brief consideration to show clearly the relationship between sin and war. It was admitted that the ambitions of Germany, the greed, the jealousy and fears of England, the revenge of France and the aims of Russia have had much to do with the war; undoubtedly they are secondary and contributory causes. It only remains to show how these secondary causes are due to sin. Are not these secondary causes plainly the result of forgetting or of breaking the law of God where He says: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

How is love for one's neighbor to be reconciled with an ambition so cruel and ruthless that the ruin of a nation of seven millions is but an incident? How is love for one's neighbor to be reconciled with the ideals of an empire willing to reduce a nation of over three hundred millions to the depths of vice and crime by forcing upon them use of opium, with all its horrors for the love of money? How is love for one's neighbor to be reconciled with the fierce and fearful spirit of revenge that for forty years has been one of the guiding impulses of a mighty nation? "Vengeance is mine, I will repay," saith the Lord, has been entirely overlooked, forgotten or disregarded. How is love for one's neighbor to be reconciled with that absolute desregard for one's own people, that terrible, cold, calculating, indomitable grinding down and blotting out of all the hopes, longings and aims inherent in the human soul, seen in the cruelty of Russia?

Is any further evidence needed to show the intimate relationship between sin and these secondary or contributory causes of the war? If breaking the law of God is sin, surely the nations of the world have sinned most grievously. And yet this is only a part of the black record. What shall we say of drunkenness, vice, murder, indifference to the

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suffering of toiling, dying men and women around us? What shall we say to that lack of appreciation of the mercy and love of an infinite God so clearly proven by the worldly, selfish, pleasure-loving multitudes, both in and out of the church, which merits the comment, "Without God and without hope in the world?" Surely the lightnings of His fury and the thunderbolts of His wrath are more than justified. And should our fair land, too, be wrapped in the consuming flame of His punishments, would we not bow our heads most humbly and say, with contrite heart: In all Thy dealings with Thy children Thou art just?

The man who refuses to "lower" himself by doing work "beneath his dignity" seldom gets "raised."

Organized Labor Not Union Labor

By J. K. TURNER

THIRTY years of experience and study of the labor problem, results in the conclusion that there is a great distinction between union labor and organized labor.

Organized labor, as it is differentiated today, in its inception, was unquestionably union, and its ideals were such as would appeal naturally to those who believed in unionism. Unionism appeals to every American because he is receiving the benefits of the most complete and concrete union that the world has ever produced.

Briefly put, unionism means justice, equality, and fraternity to all. Organized labor cannot be classified under this category. The detrimental results from the trend of organized labor, which arouse resentment in the average American, are its gradual encroachment upon the membership and the resultant effect upon its adherents, due to its policies of malingering and its hold-back teachings.

Organized labor, according to its strongest adherents, accepts the principle of "Once a laborer, always a laborer," thereby placing its members beyond the pale if they, through ambition, initiative and effort, advance outside of the class known as labor.

By the policies accepted and endorsed by their leaders, to-wit: "May my union be always right, but right or wrong, my union," or: "There are but two grades, those who are for me and those who are against me," they have admitted that unless you accept the tenets of organized labor, you are beyond the pale. Thus you will observe that organized labor separates people into classes, not realizing that when they shut others out, they close themselves in.

Organized labor stands for reward and not for results. Briefly stated, this means it stands for wages and not for earnings. This is plainly evidenced by their minimum wage scale, also their restriction of output, and their fines placed upon men, who, through ability are able to accomplish more in a given time, than their less fortunate brother.

Organized labor is un-American; because it has deprived its membership of a right of appeal or protest.

This is fundamentally uneconomical and in direct contravention to the first principles of liberty laid down in the Magna Charta. This may

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be called a broad assertion, but it is the rule, with organized labor, to prohibit its membership from intefering with the acts and operations of its legislative bodies and committees except through and by the consent of their officers. Witness the expulsion of the members of the brotherhoods in the Cotton Belt controversy recently, because they desired to change their vote in view of later developments which came to their notice. Being refused by their officers, they appealed to the courts, resulting in an injunction which is a matter of public record.

Unionism in its strictest sense is co-operation, and co-operation between man and man depends upon a leveling process being eliminated. The strength of unionism properly applied should be an elevating one instead of the leveling process of organized labor, shown by their restriction of apprentices and output, which makes the standard of the least efficient man the mark through which the most efficient man must be influenced and ruled.

Organized labor as operated has created, through its restriction of apprentices and its resistance to education of the trades under control of their organizations, in a gradually diminishing of skilled mechanics for twenty years, and a really skilled mechanic classified as A1 today is a misnomer as we have a continued and growing scarcity of tradesmen, compared to the tradesmen of the last generation.

There are many economic factors entering into the development of the specialist in place of the thorough mechanic, but no feature of the same is as pernicious in its influence as the restriction of apprentices insisted upon by labor organizations.

Another dangerous factor is the growing criminal population among the younger element who are forced into unskilled trades by this policy. Unionism, in its greatest sense, is toleration, and it is only through toleration of the wishes of the people as expressed through their franchise in the various communities, villages, and cities of the states that the federal government exists. There could be no federal government if the same principles of coercion were applied to the Union of the States as applied to the unionism of organized labor.

If you are successful, try and learn the reason. If you are unsuccessful be sure you learn the reason.

The Industrial Unrest

By JOHN E. BENNETT

(Continued from August Number)

UNDER Socialism, however, there would be present in the State the condition which would draw to its exercise the highest talent that exists. Private business being no longer profitable, they will enter upon the functions of the State. This is coming now to be the case in those countries of Europe where Socialism is strong. In Germany men of large finance and business have taken hold of it and become its leaders, eclipsing and extinguishing those minor entities who, having borne the heat of the day, expect rewards with success, only to find to their chagrin themselves supplanted by talented and distinguished strangers, who, having done nothing to help build up the movement, take the exercise of the power from the hands of its

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progenitors and long time servitors. In Belgium, Ernest Solvey, a wealthy manufacturer, has recently given a million dollars to the Socialist cause, and the plaudits with which his donation was greeted by the Socialist press at once exonerated him from all odium which otherwise besmirched him as a member of the hated capitalist class.

The same phenomenon is noted in the United States. Hitherto the minor, or so-called mushroom parties, like the Greenback or the Farmers' Alliance parties, after a period of rise and more or less flourishing growth, have subsided and disappeared through the absorption by one or both the larger parties of the leading and practicable planks of their platforms. It was to be expected, therefore, that notwithstanding the adoption by both the Republican and Democratic party platforms of various of the demands of the Socialist party, as limiting the labor of women, workmen's compensation and others, there would arise yet another party which would go even farther in the direction of Socialism than either the Democratic or Republican party, and would seek to place itself in the way of overcoming the Socialist party. This has occurred in the rise of the Progressive party.

It may be observed that while the Democratic and Republican party both incorporated in their platforms certain planks of the Socialist structure, such accretions were merely additions to the respective edifices; they did not disturb the foundations of either party. After these specific adoptions, both the party of Jefferson and that of Lincoln remained parties of the Constitution. But with the installation of the Progressive party there came into existence a new organization, planned like the Socialist party, to overcome and eliminate the Constitution.

And in this behalf it is apropos that we regard the demands of the Socialist party as presented in its most recent national platform. Aside from collective ownership, and "democratic management," of all means of transportation, storage, and distributing agencies, of all mineral deposits and forests; the "collective ownership of land where practicable, where impracticable the appropriation and collection of all rentals held for speculation or exploitation," etc., it embodies the initiative, referendum and recall; abolition of the Senate and of the veto power of the President; abolition of "the power usurped from the people by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation enacted by Congress;" national law to be repealed only by act of Congress or referendum of the people, an amending process of Congressional laws by a majority of voters in a majority of the States; an immediate reduction of the power of the Courts; the abolition of all Federal District and Circuit Courts; the election of all Judges for short terms; a convention for revision of the Constitution of the United States.

The government is to be radically changed. The Senate must be abolished. We are to go back to the unicameral system of the Republics of the Italian middle ages. This single chamber is not to be held in check by either the President with the veto, or the Supreme Court with the constitution. What this chamber does can only be reviewed by "the people," by referendum or "a majority of the voters in a majority of the States." The constitution in such case is practically nugatory, and the "revision" of it, for which the Socialists' program calls, is really to get it out of the way. Such a convention, however, would not be really necessary in order to destroy the constitution. It would be effectively wiped out by eliminating the power of the Supreme Court to determine

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the constitutionality of acts of Congress. If there be no authority vested anywhere to determine whether the laws infringe the constitution, then the constitution is effectually dead. It is no longer a paramount instrument, for none may say it is paramount, and it is no longer any restraint upon the law making power. The latter becomes hence supreme, and Congress may proceed to make laws in contravention of it without regard for its existence. The idea of a government of limited powers at once disappears, for the power of Congress are unlimited, and it may legislate against the life, the liberties or the property of the citizen, against the existence of the Senate or any of that scope of powers vouchsafed to them, and there is none to say it nay. For if it shall be asserted that there exists the referendum to the people which shall supply the place of the discarded checks, let me answer that in a few years, whatever fragment or resemblance of such procedure would remain after having experienced the abuses, deceptions and subversions to which it would be immediately subjected, would be repealed and abolished by this same Congress.

Here we have the doctrine in a nutshell; the principle of individual liberty is all wrong. The State is not subservient to the citizen, it is his master. It is not an instrument which he has formed to use the collective force of his fellows in the preservation of his rights, for he has no rights, he has only privileges; his rights are foregone into the body of society, and he will do what the State permits him to do, and that only. Hence, a written constitution is completely out of the question, and it must be swept aside. No instrument that purports to define human rights has any place in a statesmanship which denies the existence of any human rights at all, which holds that man is not a citizen but a subject. So long as such constitution exists it is "a stone wall" against the application of such philosophy, notwithstanding the fact that its principles are being eaten into.

There is no station or province of life that so quickly segregates man into classes as the authority of political rule.

There is no more profound wisdom expressed anywhere in the scheme of the Commonwealth, than that of its provisions aimed at preventing the individuals who are called upon to rule, concreting into a class. The tendency to crystallize is constantly broken by expiration of the terms of elective office. The rules are drawn from the body of the people, invested with powers, and they are at definite, predetermined periods returned to the body of the people, stripped of their powers, and made to feel that they are again of the sea of the commonality. Only by written constitutions can this be effected; and when we strike down government founded on a written document, and wipe out written law, be it code or common, we have no longer government by law, but we have government by men, and if there be any lesson in the school of history which we are taught, if we be longer open to its teaching, it is that governments are oppressive and outrageous toward their peoples, just in degree as they are ruled by men and not by law.

And I have not the slightest doubt that if extinguishment of the constitution is threatened, the Recall of Judges and the Recall of Judicial decisions will do it.

The Socialist does not care that these numerous "reforms" are adopted by various legislatures. He regards their adoption as "clarifying class lines." He likes the Progressive, "believes in great industrial

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organizations;" the Progressive thinks he can regulate such through the State; the Socialist sees in them the shaping up of industry preparatory to its being taken over and operated by the State. The Constitutionalists and individualist is not afraid of industrial organizations because they are great, but he is afraid of the monopoly upon which they are so often based, by virtue of which they so often exist.

The Industrial Unionist, however, is against all "reforms." His method is mass strikes. He would attain the Socialist State as a development out of the Socialist movement. When the Progressive has, in co-operation with the Socialist brought the country to a pro-Socialist mind, the multitude seeing no avenue of escape from intolerable conditions save the great industrial monopoly which the Socialist designs as the State—at that time the Industrial Unionist will come forward with his mass strike, his final Waterloo charge, which will rout the constitution and clear the whole field of individualistic citizenship; whereupon the socialized state will arise.

So widespread has been the inversion of thought upon what are the rights of the citizen and where the State in approaching those rights must stop, that we find a multitude of advocates and defenders of this further encroachment by the sovereign, making known their views in speech and press. These auxiliaries are generally labor unionists.

The idea that by doing less work there remains more work to be done, that by shortening the labor-day more men will be employed, and that the laborer is thereby benefited, is a belief that pervades both labor unionism and Socialism, and is a twin doctrine to that of limitation of output; for if men produce more than a given modicum, the interests of fellow workers are thereby jeopardized. To the same category belongs the doctrine that work can be "made," which expresses itself in the practice of loading upon an industry superfluous laborers, the creating of jobs where none economically exist, merely for the sake of giving employment to labor. This is expressed in the "full crew" statutes such as obtain in California and by the shipping bill. The Calumet strike in upper Michigan of the Western Federation of Miners, which raged during 1913, grew out of a demand by the laborers that two men be employed on the one-man power drills, an improved piece of machinery, which displaced the two man drill. The "making of work" for the extra man on the drill is consonant with the "making of work" for the unemployed by the shortening of the work-day to eight hours. These principles are commonly believed to be correct. They are taught by our collegiates, accepted by "business men," and acted upon by legislatures, yet they are completely erroneous. For as the less work that is done, the less produce is created, and as the less the produce the less the demand for labor, it is manifest that by slacking off on either time of work, or quantity of product, the laborer is but denying to others the opportunity to get jobs, while through holding down production he is creating scarcity and raising the prices which he must pay when he converts his coin wages into his real wages, namely the things he buys. So that while the laborer, through shortening his time of labor, and half working during the period that he does work, is making things easier for himself, he is paying for that ease by reducing his own wages through increasing prices in the market, and while he may be creating jobs for a few of the out-of-work laborers, he is starving the others in their idleness, through pushing up prices of food beyond their ability to buy, and

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he is moreover setting in motion the forces which restrict such industry as exists to narrower limits, thereby again reacting to push out of employment a number perhaps equal to the new ones which the change engaged. The calling in of more men to do the work now done, which may be conceded as a result of the proposed new universal eight-hour schedule, would primarily reduce wages. If a man now received $2.50 per day, for ten hours, he would then receive $2.00 per day for eight hours, for the change would mean that 20% or more men would have to be put on to do the given complement of work. But it is the purpose of the Socialist that the rate of wages shall not be decreased.

In default of a law, the implement by which the rate of wages would be protected from reduction would be the strike, and as the matter was of general concern among unorganized laborers, we should expect a mass strike, in which once and assumedly for all, the question would be fought out, in the presence of rotting crops and all other forms of waste incident to such conflict, for which the Socialist cares nothing whatever. Let it be allowed, however, that wages are permanently held at $2.50 for eight hours; here is a 20% increase in wages. The question arises, who will pay it? The Socialist thinks it will be paid by the employer; but the employer knows it will be paid by the consumer, from whom it, and all added incidental costs, will be collected through a raise in prices. When "workingmen's compensation" went into effect in New York, for instance, fixing upon the employer the burden of paying to employes injured while in their service given sums of money, the employers placed the risk with insurance companies, and charged the premiums up against their customers. It would be idle to quote instances of the universal practice of shifting these charges from the employer, the producer, to the consumer. All taxes and burdens, save the tax upon the value of land, are and must be so shifted, else industry could not exist. Whatever increases the cost of production, must necessarily increase the cost of the product to the purchaser.

Since the purchasers are for the greater part the laborers who receive the increased wages, and as all records show that the percentage of rise in the cost of living is always greater than the percentage of rise in wages, it is apparent that escape from the effects of "the wage system" for the laborer is impossible. He does not and cannot increase his wages by driving up the prices of wages.

And here is the whole trouble, the whole cause of the "industrial unrest." It is caused by the desire of laborers to procure for their services higher than economic wages. They can never get it. As soon as higher than economic wages is paid to them, the excess is added to the cost and they pay it back again in higher prices. The ultimate effect of this process is to promote scarcity and to narrow the zone of labor, constantly holding opportunity to labor away from a vast multitude known as "the unemployed," for whom the Socialists pretend to exercise such care.

It can also be seen that minimum wages can be of no real benefit to the laborer. Minimum wages is an endeavor to increase to a given figure wages of those who get less than the minimum. The answer of the employer is to lay off those whom he deems earns less than the minimum, or if he is forced to pay it, thus much more is added to the cost of running the business and to the price of the product.

(To be Continued)

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Training of Young Railroaders

By GEO. M. BASFORD

A RAILROAD president recently made this observation and asked this question: "What troubles me most is the question of promotion of men to subordinate executive positions. I don't know who should be promoted and my department heads don't have proper confidence in their own recommendations. Can you suggest a way to promote men intelligently?"

American railroad officials have attained their positions either because of or in spite of the conditions under which they came to the front. They have come to the front in spite of unfavorable conditions. The railroad problems of the immediate future will create demands for ability beyond the possibility of present methods to supply. The selection, training and promotion of their personnel is the problem of supreme importance before railroads today.

The time-honored method of waiting for executive force and leadership to reveal itself in the ranks has produced magnificent men, but this method will not meet the great need now coming upon us. It is inadequate. It will result in a famine of leadership. It belongs to the past days of relatively small things. You must make men. You can not afford to wait for them to make themselves.

On the other hand, the plan adopted by some railroads a generation ago and now coming to new life—that of training young men, usually college men—announcing that they are being trained for official positions—is unquestionably wrong in principle and is doomed to failure. With some notable exceptions, it has failed generally, and for a very definite reason it is sure to continue to fail. West Point and Annapolis plans are ideal for the army and navy, because enlistments in the rank and file are for limited periods and the majority of recruits leave the service in early manhood. It is, therefore, necessary to train many young men specifically as officers of the army and navy. Success of railroads, however, largely depends upon the permanent enlistment of its rank and file. This changes the entire problem. It is from the ranks of enlisted men in railroad service that most of you have come. It is from the same source that nearly all of the great railroad leaders of the time have come. It is from the rank and file that the very greatest leaders of the world have come. It is safe to predict that the same source will supply the even greater leaders that the future will require. When you announce that young college men are being trained for official positions, you slam the gates to advancement in the face of the man in the ranks. It is not fair to the college men. It is not fair to the rank and file.

Great works require great leaders. Great leaders require perfection of training in the ranks. Perfection of training in the ranks in turn produces and develops great leaders. Therefore, it appears that the men in high authority today will leave the legacy of greatest value to the future if they properly attend to the training of the recruits coming into the ranks.

For success, all large business organizations must depend upon ability, fitness, training and loyalty of men in the ranks and of subordi-

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nate executive officials. Because its organization is scattered over thousands of miles, this is particularly true of a big railroad. Picture your own position as a railroad officer if you could depend upon the individual shopman, trackman, yardman, brakeman, conductor, fireman, engineer, despatcher, agent or clerk to do the right thing at the right time and intelligently to devote the hours of his day to that part of your problem for which he is responsible! You would have time to think and time to plan. Your mind would be free for the larger tasks and larger opportunities before you. Your desk would not be piled high with the useless official literature of today, the burden of which is, "Please explain." Today we are looking for the genius and are overlooking the production of good workmen. We are depending upon officers. We need to depend upon men. Trained, properly educated and encouraged workmen will provide good officers later.

Whereas greatest care, deliberation, study, specification, test or guarantee are applied in the purchase of property, rails, equipment, machinery or material and the highest officials interest themselves in the purchase, the prevailing custom is to leave selection of new employes to mere chance. It may happen that the future chairman of the board will in his first entrance into the service be hired by a clerk, or that one capable of development to such an office may be rejected by a clerk. High-priced officials buy your locomotives and your rails. Who buys your men of the future?

Solution of this problem begins with the selection of men in the ranks. Systematic methods of selecting human material for the organization are imperative. The boys in offices, in shops, and all along the road should be most carefully and intelligently selected. Some one well qualified must be given this responsibility. Then these recruits must be tried out, and those "making good" must be trained. This word "trained" represents a new meaning as applied in this connection. It means thorough education of hand and brain and conscience. Selection is important in all organizations, regardless of size. The larger the organization, however, the more important is the matter of training. Training through apprenticeship is imperative. It may not safely be deferred. You will not be able to hold your own in railroad progress without it. For example, how will you keep up with requirements in locomotive-boiler construction and maintenance without apprentices in your boiler shops? You need workmen who are better informed than the foremen used to be. This is true of many trades and many positions in railroad service.

It is perfectly practicable to provide thorough training for boys and young men in every department of the railroad. Each should be trained and encouraged to develop and advance as far as he can go. For shop recruits the way is clear, through apprenticeship and apprentice schools. This has already been worked out on several railroads. The Santa Fe today has 877 shop apprentices in nine separate trades at forty-one shops. They are under instruction by shop instructors, through whom they are learning their trades. In company schools in working hours these boys receive mental training and development in lines corresponding with their work. The school instructors are company employes who have developed an educational plan so satisfactory as to merit the attention of the professional educators of highest standing. The shop and school instructors are selected and trained most

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carefully. They are expected to, and they do, exert a powerful moral influence over the boys. After eight years of continual growth, the Sante Fe will this year graduate 175 of these boys into the ranks of competent, educated workmen, and this is only a beginning. Ask yourselves whether or not your official load would be lightened if you had 175 trade trained and educated workmen launched into your organization each year. In eight years the road referred to has graduated 651 of these competent reliable young men. Seventy-one per cent of these youths are now in the service. If only half of these remain in the service a promising start has been made.

With a suitable plan of promotion a large proportion will remain in service, and that curse of railroads—the floater—will be displaced by the steady, reliable workman you all want. At a shop on another road where apprenticeship has been established eight years, and where 1,500 men are employed, but 57 men of mechanical trades have left the service in a year.

Because the boys are supervised and trained in groups, training in mechanical trades is relatively easy, but boys in every department may be trained if an officer high in authority issues the order that every one on the road must see to it that the employe immediately below him in rank is trained and prepared for promotion. This applies to offices, stations, yards, and everywhere else. All employes will some day be told that they must not expect promotion until they have properly trained and educated their own successors. You will all agree with this, but are you doing it? Every shop and large office building will some day have its school and every road will some day provide educational schemes for outlying points by correspondence. Every road will also some day provide an officer whose duty is to scour the cities and the rural districts along the line for boys of the right sort.

Training of men will cost something. It has, however, been demonstrated beyond question that it pays from the very start. It will pay in every department. The instructor in shop trades pays for himself from the very first day in the damage saved in machines and materials. At the Montreal works of the American Locomotive Company apprentice boys became efficient as workmen at the end of the first year. Wherever apprenticeship with real training and apprentice schools have been accorded a fair trial, the results have fulfilled most sanguine expectations as definite examples would prove if time permitted of their presentation.

These words, from a report of a Massachusetts commission on industrial training, represent the need in all departments of a railroad as well as they apply to the manufacturers of this country.

"In many industries the processes of manufacture and construction are made more difficult and more expensive by a lack of skilled workmen. This lack is not chiefly a want of manual dexterity, though such a want is common, but a want of what may be called industrial intelligence. By this is meant mental power to see beyond the task which occupies the hands for the moment, to the operations which have preceded and to those which follow it—power to take in the whole process, knowledge of materials, ideas of cost, ideas of organization, business sense, and a conscience which recognizes obligations."

Train your men in every department. This can not be made too emphatic. You will fail in your mission in life if you don't. You will

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leave a priceless legacy in the form of an organization replete with human efficiency and, therefore, human happiness, if you do. Train your rank and file and this great railroad organization will be a pyramid resting upon its base. A pyramid is typical of the structure of an ideal organization built to endure. It has a broad, firm base as a foundation. In the human organization this foundation is the men in the ranks. If the men in the ranks are what they ought to be, the top will take care of itself. If only the top is right, the structure is unsafe. When you raise the rank and file you lift yourself also. You can't be a master of efficiency unless the men you trust to carry out your orders are efficient. The organization is strong as the ranks are strong in the old-fashioned virtues—skill, industry, economy and integrity.

To the man in the ranks the future looks hopeless with increasing intensity as organizations grow larger. Do something for him. Recognize the individual whom you as officers seldom or never see. Save the souls of men of the kind the world needs by simple encouragement, by recognition of merit, by looking for it, by recording it, and by rewarding it. Employers are responsible for many lost souls and ruined lives just because of neglect of the subject of this talk.

The path has already been blazed. The pioneer work has already been done, but thus far the complete plan here suggested has never been carried out. Remember that while this plan is really simple in principle, its inauguration and operation can be intrusted only to an inspired and powerful official, and one capable of handling it is not easily found. This fact indicates the tremendous importance of the question of training and promotion. It is a great undertaking as measured by the certain results, but the plan itself is simple and the expense is negligible.

There is no greater work in the world than to help those who desire to help themselves. There is no nobler task than the training of young minds. But experience has shown that training alone is not sufficient. A powerful directive influence in selecting, in training and in providing the organization for men who are trained is absolutely necessary. To show the necessity for and the possibility of providing this influence is my object.

The man who studies "excuses" for his failure would do better to study "reasons" for it.

Government Ownership in Great Britain

IT appears from the annual report which has just been published by the Controller of the British Postoffice that the telegraph and telephone service which the government supplies resulted during the year which the report covers in a deficit of $6,000,000. The attention of Postmaster General Burleson and of other advocates of government ownership in the United States is directed to this circumstance. In the United Kingdom the telegraph lines have been operated by the government for several years. Not long ago it was decided that the telephone should be included in the official monopoly and the companies were bought out. As British law is extremely respectful of property rights, they received an indemnity which liberally compensated them for their enforced surrender, and then the Postoffice Department

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started in to show how much better the telephone business could be conducted by the government than it had been by private enterprise.

No such demonstration has been made. Very shortly after the Post-office Department had assumed control of the telephone system letters began to appear in the newspapers about the deterioration of the service. Day after day communications were printed in the London Times, that traditional outlet for British indignation, in which the writers complained bitterly of the annoyances to which they were subjected and of the inconveniences and disappointments which they suffered under the new regime. They would call and call and get no answer, and the delays which occurred in obtaining the desired connections were described as frequent and intolerable. The employes of the government in the telephone department seemed to do just about as they pleased. They were immune to protest or remonstrance, and as the underlings would almost invariably be upheld by their superiors no expression of dissatisfaction did any good.

It now transpires that this inefficient, unsatisfactory, exasperating service has been conducted at a heavy loss, and so another illustration of the fallacy that government ownership is preferable in this connection to private enterprise has been supplied. It is hardly likely that Mr. Burleson's program for the absorption by the government of the telegraph and telephone business will be seriously considered for some time yet, if ever, but were this policy adopted the American people would have cause to rue the day. They may not generally realize it, but it is a fact all the same that they are getting a telegraph and telephone service which has no equal anywhere. This is especially true of the telephone, whose development in the United States is without a parallel. Many more telephones are in use here than in any other country and the reason is that an incomparably high standard of efficiency is maintained.—*American Justice.*

The world is not against you just because things don't always come your way.

The Circle of the Labor Movement*

By J. K. TURNER

Chapter XVIII.

The Political Functions of Ancient Unions

OF great importance was the political power of the ancient Solonic unions. Politics permeated all the unions from the highest antiquity. Their influence through the ballot was enormous, being especially marked in voting into office public commissioners. In this manner they secured for the voting unions pledges of public employment in towns, cities, and on the highways, which were called government military roads.

The Solonic unions were the originators of the rite of baptism which originally embraced the idea of cleanliness. This was so important to the health of the people, that it was customary for all their temples to have a bath, and bathing became part of the initiation. Christians could

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not become members until they became initiates, and baptism was the first and principal rite. Ancient religion commanded cleanliness among its first requirements.

Prehistoric man had been slovenly. He lived in caves or huts, amid indecencies and filth. Baptism was an innovation of civilization. It did not originate with the Hebrew but was first found among the unions. The rite of baptism, as practiced by Christianity, originated with these ancient unions. They would not admit any diseased persons affected with leprosy or any scrofulous disease which could not be purified with water, nor would they allow them in their temples. No one who had committed murder was allowed to enter their temples.

While the unions were almost entirely economical, the thought ever uppermost in their minds was to provide plenty. They had religious reverence, like all people of ancient times. The rite of baptism was later differentiated and is known as conversion at the present time.

Another rite was the observance of the Sabbath, which, like baptism, did not originate with the Hebrew but with the ancient Solonic unions. Under the old pagan regime, there was no Sunday. Trade unions, under their constitution, were required to observe Sunday as a day of rest but not as a day of sanctity. At the time of Ignatius, "Every friend of Christ was to keep the Lord's day as a festival."

It was customary for these organizations to hold a festival weekly previous to the divisions of the year into months and weeks. It has also been shown that in addition to the 52 days of rest given each year to the workers, the eight hour day also was established, especially by the Solonic unions, but was later discontinued and lost.

Beginning with the earliest records, we find that these organizations were based upon and carried out the precept of love, and this was also part of their initiation. Their meeting places were especially designed for this purpose, so that they could meet and cultivate friendship and love, and where they could discuss matters of interest and importance to the organization and its members. They also had the common tables in their meeting places. These common meals were the celebrated love-feasts of the ancients. Love was a command of their organizations and later became a command of Christianity. It thrived among the unions until broken up by the council of Laodicea, which eliminated them throughout the world, and their love was turned to hate, and was followed by the dark feudal ages of a thousand years.

This love existed not only during life but following pagan ideas, was extended after death. It was customary to burn the bodies of the dead. Only the great and distinguished were honored with interment.

During the Conquests, the members of the unions under the law of Numa were employed to do the mechanical work of the armies and navies of Rome. They were not soldiers, but were formed into companies and regiments and set to work making arms and all materials of war.

The rule of proxy, provided in the law of Solon and the Twelve Tables, was for the purpose of surmounting the obstacles interposed by the law against the success of independent labor organizations. That the unions might at all times hire their own talent, the law provided that a president of the union's choice be authorized to make bargains in his own name. What made this man's power so great was the fact that the organization was patterned after a democratic city or state, so that the business of the kurios or presiding officer was to make contracts for his

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people, which the people would perform, with as much profit to themselves as possible. As a result the presiding officer became very powerful and had great influence over the boards of public works, and often times was elected to fill political positions.

The unions were recognized by state and city and employed in a semi-official capacity, although they were at liberty to hire their talent to any one as they saw fit.

While religion formed an important part, it was a pretext and not the incentive for organization.

They were subject to persecution as demonstrated by an uprising in Phrygia, when the artists were compelled to flee to Ephesus for safety. Attalus drove them out of their home at Labados, where they were in a flourishing state at the time of Diodorus.

We find that the Solonic organizations, at one time, reached as far as Ceylon. In the year B. C. 316, the philosophy or religion of the Guatama, which resembles that of Christianity, was planted in the island and developed a wonderful system of public works. The government constructed vast reservoirs and their system of irrigation was excellent. There still remain relics of the large artificial lakes.

The kurios after serving faithfully for five years became the manager of the brotherhood, and was endowed under the law with the power to sub-let the labor of the members to the state. Such power was not granted until the officer was crowned.

A crowning was a great event. A person crowned, they believed, was immortalized and very highly honored. This is the origin of saint-hood. There was always a great feast at the crownings. The crowns were made of laurel, ivy, gold, olive, willow, etc., and often thorns. The blessings conferred by the crowning were not only for life but continued after death. They also frequently crowned the dead.

There were two methods of rewarding for services,—that of money and the emulatory which carried with it many privileges. Even magistrates were sometimes paid in this manner, receiving no other recompense than honors. As a result of their powerful influence with the managers of the public works, their membership often received double the wages of outside, unorganized freedmen.

Great numbers of slaves were owned by the rich people who sub-let their work to contractors. This was the cheap labor with which the organizations were compelled to compete. The latter being more educated than the slaves, they could use their influence with the boards of public works for their own gain.

The slaves received as low as two oboles a day, or about three cents for a day's labor, while the freedmen received from twenty to thirty oboles a day.

Long before Christianity, the Solonic organizations were aiding in the emancipation of the slaves. Secretly they bought the slaves and sold them to God, under the solemnities of their Dionysan or Pythian Apollo, and this system is said to have filled the world with freedmen. "To purchase a slave and save a soul" was an injunction of their writings.

About 355 B. C., Xenophon made a proposition to the Athenian government to hire the slave population, already state property, by contract to men of enterprise. This was successfully opposed by the organizations. If it had carried, it would have killed all the trades unions of northern Greece.

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The organizations were practical and business-like institutions, their principal aim being to obtain a good living. They had a theory of a vast workshop in the beyond, interwoven with their idea of heaven, with one Lord and this is believed to be the origin of the one God theory, conflicting with the pagan belief of many deities.

(To be Continued)

"Longing" for opportunities doesn't find them half as quickly as "looking" for them.

Railroads and Prosperity

THE railroad is the largest employer of labor in the United States. In thirteen years, from 1900 to 1912, inclusive, the number of employes increased from 1,017,653 to 1,716,380.

In the same period, the railroad pay roll was increased from $577,264,841 a year to $1,253,347,697.

The average pay of all employes in 1900 was $1.90, and in 1912, $2.42.

In 1900 the average pay of general and other officers was $7.56 a day. In 1912, it was $8.33.

For engineers, the average per day in 1900 was $3.75 and in 1912, $5.00 a day;

For firemen, $2.14 in 1900 and $3.02 in 1912;

For machinists, $2.30 and $3.02.

For conductors, $3.17 and $4.29;

For trainmen, $1.96 and $2.96.

So much for labor.

The rate of income to net capital for 1912 was $5.19, as compared with $5.02 in 1908.

The railways of the United States are conservatively estimated to be valued at between twenty and twenty-two billion of dollars; in 1914 they yielded but four per cent on a capital of less than $17,000,000,000.

In the same period, over one eighth of the country's railroad mileage, or approximately 30,500 miles, was in the hands of receivers.

An authority on railroads estimates that every twelfth car hauled on every road in the United States is part of the railroad's business and when the railroad ceases buying materials, one twelfth of its tonnage is immediately lost. The decrease in the earning power of the railroads of the country has been receiving the attention of economists for the last two years as they recognize that the arteries of our nation indicate in an unfailing manner the business conditions of the country.

In 1913, there were employed on the railroads, 1,815,239 and by the fiscal year 1914, the number of employes had been reduced to 1,698,818, a decrease of 116,511, thrown out of work because of business depression.

Howard Elliott of the New Haven, in commenting on the unhealthy status of the railroads of the country, declared the time is coming when the great labor organizations will have to be regulated in the same way as the great corporations.

"The present conditions of the railroads indicated above, finds a parallel in 1896 when about the same number of miles of railroad was in the hands of receivers. This, it is needless to say, is not a healthy condition for the country."

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Continuing, Mr. Elliott said:

"Notwithstanding all the complaints made against our railroads, the fact remains that they pay the highest wages and sell their transportation at the lowest prices and furnish more per dollar invested than any railroads of any country in the world.

"Because of some mistakes by railroad owners and managers and by those engaged in other forms of corporate business the suspicion and disfavor developed, and a class of critics has grown up in this country who have made a living by agitation and by advocating unnecessary legislation.

"There are signs now that we are approaching the time when the country will obtain the full benefit of the corporate form of doing business without the evils.

"Another great problem before the country is that of the labor organizations. They are a part of our complex social machinery, but they have not yet found their place. In the struggle to create the great railroads and the great corporations the relation of labor to them was not at times carefully enough considered.

"As a result laboring men united and little by little the great labor organizations were developed and they now have very large powers. But just as the people took notice of the errors of the capital organizations, or so-called trusts, when they believed that they were ignoring the public welfare and passed the various regulatory measures in an effort to eliminate the bad and retain the good, so will the country in time consider the problem of the labor organizations and correct any errors in them.

"The great leaders of capital, as I say, obtain tremendous power which has been curtailed and regulated by law. The time will come when the great unregulated powers now exercised by the leaders of the great labor organizations will be regulated in the same way.

"I believe the majority of our people feel that when a man earns his living by working for a public service corporation he enters into a moral contract to do that work upon which the whole people depend until he is mustered out of his place in some orderly manner; that he owes that duty to society just as much as a soldier owes a duty to remain in the army until he is released in a lawful manner.

"I further believe that sooner or later some plan will be evolved by public opinion that will bring about a satisfactory adjustment of this great and complicated labor problem."

An Epitaph

———"Here lies one who took his chances
In the busy world of men;
Battled luck and circumstances,
Fought and fell, and fought again;
Won sometimes—but did no crowing,
Lost sometimes—but didn't wail;
Took his beating—but kept going,
Never let his courage fail."

—*Boston News Bureau.*

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The Mediator

GERMAN-AMERICAN EDITION

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FRANK PALLA

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TOMORROW'S PROBLEM

THE advent of electricity sounded the death knell of individualism and heralded the birth of co-operation." It threw men into one mighty family, and just as the family living under one roof must co-operate if it is to be happy and prosper, so men living and working under present-day conditions of intercommunication must co-operate if they would be happy and prosperous.

Co-operation is and must be the keynote, the spirit, and the watchword of American civilization. There must no longer be a North, a South, an East, and a West, for they have all been bound together with bands of steel and wire into one great Union, wherein the interest of one is a matter of concern to all.

Never in the history of the development of the world has such a remarkable revolution taken place as this country has been going through for the past twenty-five years, and that this change has been brought about without more friction and opposition is one of the signs which makes the future more hopeful.

Heretofore we have been so busy raising big crops of wheat and cotton and developing our business that we have suffered from a dearth of statesmen, and the change of administration and policy of our government finds us totally unprepared, in that we have a surplus of business ability and avenues of production without a sufficiently expansive market, a condition that is responsible for the business depression through which this nation is passing.

Progress is halted and labor is idle.

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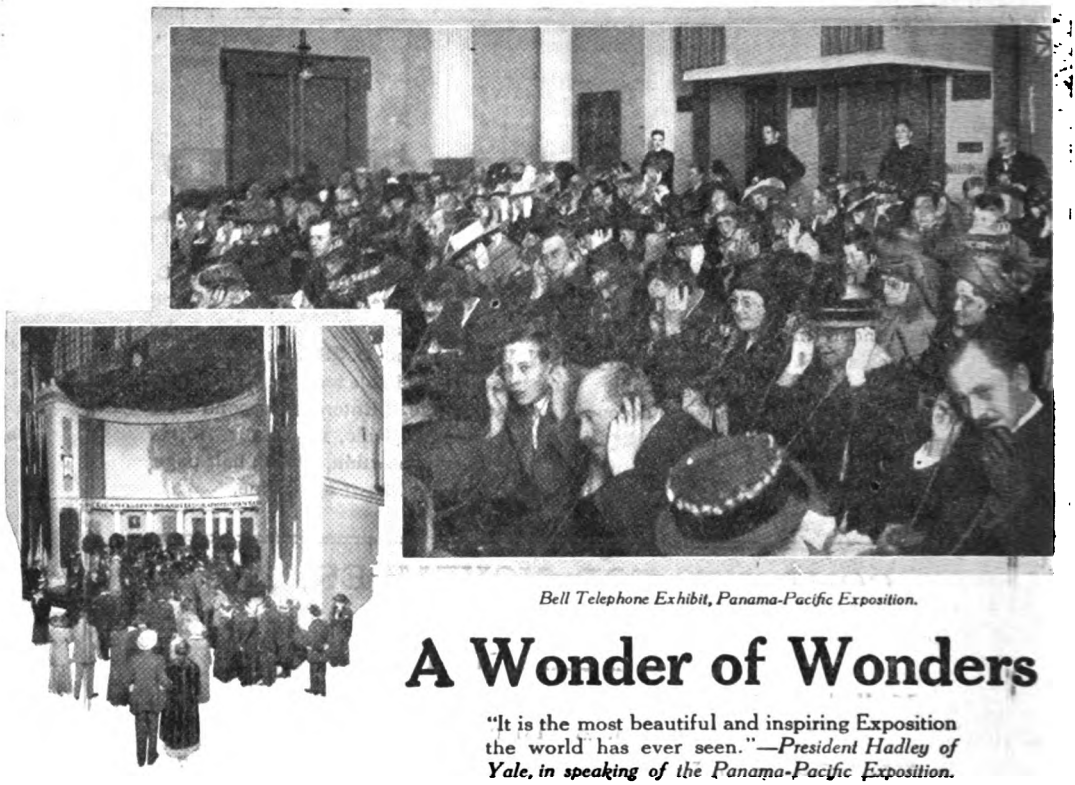

Bell Telephone Exhibit, Panama-Pacific Exposition.

A Wonder of Wonders

"It is the most beautiful and inspiring Exposition the world has ever seen."—*President Hadley of Yale, in speaking of the Panama-Pacific Exposition.*

EVERY American should feel it a duty as well as a privilege to visit the Panama-Pacific Exposition and view its never-equaled exhibits of achievements in Art, Science and Industry.

In all this assemblage of wonders, combining the highest accomplishments of creative genius and mechanical skill, there is none more wonderful than the exhibit of the Bell Telephone System.

Here, in a theatre de luxe, the welcome visitors sit at ease while the marvel of speech transmission is pictorially revealed and told in story. They listen to talk in New York, three thousand miles away; they hear the roar of the surf on the far-off Atlantic Coast; they witness a demonstration of Transcontinental telephony which has been awarded the Grand Prize of Electrical Methods of Communication.

This Transcontinental Line has taken the thought, labor and ingenuity of some of the greatest minds in the scientific world. Yet it is but a small part of the more wonderful universal service of the Bell System, which makes possible instant communication between all the people of the country.

AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY
AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES

One Policy *One System* *Universal Service*

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THE MEDIATOR

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A PLAN TO ENFORCE PEACE

By HON. CHARLES NAGEL

THE number and variety of plans for peace are so great that it is difficult to keep track of them. Indeed it is likely that this wealth of suggestions has been instrumental in discouraging serious consideration of the essential principles which are involved. Many of the plans are so obviously intended to serve collateral purposes and have such immediate reference to existing conflicts, that they do not properly enter into a discussion of the general problem.

But in some directions distinct headway has been made. There is something approaching practical agreement upon certain fundamental rules of conduct; and this must be accepted as a very important beginning of a movement the ultimate development of which no one will attempt to prophesy. The chief hope for success, however, lies in the opportunity for normal development under conditions that can not be foreseen or forced. Nothing is more dangerous to any movement than an attempt to anticipate conditions or to forestall natural growth.

It is generally accepted that there should be a permanent International Tribunal to which controversies between nations may be submitted. It has been agreed by nations of first rank that all justiciable questions shall be submitted to such a tribunal for final decision between them. There is strong support for the idea that even questions not justiciable (not arising under recognized principles of international law) may or shall be so submitted, if not for final decision at least for an expression of opinion. Throughout there is present one general ground for hesitation; compulsion. No nation is prepared to submit to arbitration any question which involves its national honor; and few if any are willing to agree that an independent tribunal shall determine every unsettled question of international law even when national honor is not involved.

The fact is that even so, very great progress has been made. There is no reason to doubt that most first-class nations can be induced to submit justiciable questions for decision. Admitting that the precise meaning of this class of controversies will often be subject to dispute and that in the best event a very large list of causes for conflict are left unprovided for, it is nevertheless true that a broad foundation has been laid for an advance of unlimited possibilities.

The mere existence of a permanent tribunal to which controversies of any kind may be submitted at once as they arise is of paramount importance. The stipulation to submit and to abide may of course be broken at any time. Such an agreement may therefore not be of greater value than the ability voluntarily to resort to such a tribunal whenever contending nations desire to avoid war, by resorting to a course the adoption of which may preserve peace without involving dishonor. In spite of the tremendous war which is now waging, it is not safe to assume that many of the great nations really desire war; and certainly not one of them is willing to admit such an ambition. On the contrary wars are hazardous

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to people, governments and crowned heads alike. Moral justification at home has become a necessity and similar explanation abroad is certainly attempted. Public opinion is more and more becoming the final arbiter; and rulers, monarchical as well as democratic, are prompt to court its decisions. It is entirely conceivable therefore that the existence of a permanent tribunal may be availed of by responsible rulers or ministers to avoid impending danger, perhaps even to find an acceptable answer to hasty demands of an aroused populace. It is not at all clear that such an emergency would not be more successfully met by the opportunity for voluntary submission than by an agreement for compulsory arbitration. Compulsion is the stumbling block throughout.

It is feared not only because of the unknown contingencies to which a country may commit itself; but also because every statesman appreciates that a decision to which he is forced to submit may become only one more firebrand in the conflagration which he is attempting to subdue.

The plan to enforce peace goes one step farther than has heretofore been seriously advocated, although it must be admitted that the use of force is contemplated in the mildest form possible. From the beginning it has been recognized that any system for arbitration, whatever its precise form, lacked the power to carry out the decision of the tribunals provided for. There was demand for the police power to enforce decrees. Those who worship at the shrine of statutory morality were quick to suggest that such police power should be provided by all the civilized nations. Why not? But if the process is so simple why not decide at once that there shall be no more quarrels or wars among nations, and abolish the armies and navies instead of devising ways and means for their more salutary employment!

Recognizing that some provision should be made to enforce that which is distinctly agreed to, and appreciating the danger of attempting too much it is now proposed, among other things, that consenting nations form a league, the members agreeing that they will submit non-justiciable questions to an international council of conciliation which shall recommend a fair and amicable solution; and that if any member wages war against another before submitting the question in dispute, all other members shall jointly use both their economic and military forces against the state that so breaks the peace.

The question arises whether it is safe to adopt the idea of compulsion and force even in so modified a form; or whether the elements of danger still outweigh the promise of gain. Several difficulties suggest themselves at once, and it is proposed to refer only to such as are not peculiar to our country but would obtain in case of any country that became party to the league.

First: As to the employment of economic and military force. How is the burden to be apportioned? It may be assumed that military contribution would be based upon population or some similar common standard. How about economic force, and precisely what is meant by the term? If it implies, as has been advanced in other connections, a cessation of commercial intercourse with the offending nation, then obviously such a burden would not be borne proportionately by the members of the league; and this would in itself offer an insuperable objection to so much of this plan.

Second: Unless the Council of Conciliation is absolutely removed from all influence of members of the league, any nation may well hesitate to join. Tribunals of this kind are, to say the least, quasi political. Ex-

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pediency is apt to be considered; and if so the stronger nations are sure to exercise control. The experience of history would have to be rejected if it is proposed to organize a tribunal of this kind in which the wheel within the wheel is not to be found. Unless the Council of Conciliation is to be an entirely judicial, and in no sense a political body, smaller or indeed any particular states may well hesitate before they entrust their fortunes to such a decision.

Third: But it is said that the Council makes no decisions. The sole purpose of the agreement is to have a member submit its dispute to the Council, which is to offer a fair and amicable solution. In other words, the member may accept or reject the offered solution; but it must submit the question before going to war or take the consequences of the penalty provided. Even so, will not the offered solution to all intents and purposes be a decision? Will a smaller state, or a state which belongs to the minority, feel free to reject the offered solution? If the offer seems fair, public opinion will give it powerful support. The desire for peace may do as much regardless of the nature of the offered solution. If that offer is unfair it is almost sure to indicate the presence of a sinister influence, which constitutes the greatest danger to the whole plan. Power once created is liable to be used—most liable when least justified. The Holy Alliance has a program for the maintenance of orderly government in Europe; and it had a wheel within a wheel to use the power so created—to run the program.

Perhaps the world has grown more unselfish in spite of its immediate manifestations; but there are reasons for thinking that it is not wise to place new temptations in its way. It will be more safe to leave the development of international law to be worked out by the forces of interest, courage and right, and to give it expression from time to time as sustained experience permits of the adoption of definite and final form.

Whenever you find a man who cannot stand criticism you'll find a man who is not quite sure of himself.

Mediation's Progress

By J. K. TURNER

SINCE the birth of THE MEDIATOR, great progress has been made, as indicated in the growth of the spirit of tolerance on every hand.

Organizations of labor that have been at odds for years have come to realize their mutual interdependence. Great business organizations that were built up through competition are slowly but surely realizing how interwoven are the social and industrial fabric of our present civilization.

The coming of the great war abroad halted the progress of mediation temporarily; yet because of this great war, more than to any one cause, mediation is the most discussed topic of the day.

The spirit of self-sacrifice displayed on the battle fields of Europe is bringing men closer together. This is particularly true in this country as indicated by public utterances of men of affairs, which carry the thought that mediation, tolerance, and harmony are the keystones of our future progress.

Judge Gary of the United States Steel Corporation, in an address

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before a large gathering of prominent citizens and educators from all sections of the United States and Canada, touched upon mediation as applied to employer and employed in an able and striking manner. He referred to the more or less widespread agitation against the present order of society and said:

"Though less noticeable and perhaps temporarily interrupted by the conflagration of Europe, which has diverted the attention and ordinary pursuits of so many, there has been for many years an increasing agitation throughout the world, including the United States, in favor of certain 'isms' which are calculated to sap the very foundation of economic justice.

"For the purpose of briefly discussing the subject, the people of this country, at least, may be divided into three general groups. Those who advocate the forcible distribution of the property of others without offering any equivalent; those who are designated capitalists; and others comprising the large majority who should and must eventually solve these questions, on the basis of universal and eternal justice.

"The time is ripe for the introduction into business methods of high ideals, and this has been recognized by a large majority of the business men of the United States. They must admit that in the past they have not always been just in their treatment of others. They have been selfish and arrogant. They have occasionally given good ground for complaint. It is not certain that business men have always treated their employes exactly right. I am not sure that employes have always been paid adequate compensations for their services.

"If it be said employers have paid as much as their business would afford, the answer is the producer should have charged more for his commodities and the general purchasing public should have shared the burden of increased wages. The major part of the workingmen are conscionable and rational and if fairly treated are disposed to reciprocate. The average employer of the day is giving thought and consideration, as never before, to the interests and welfare of the employes and the wages which should be paid.

"There is one way, and perhaps only one way, of preventing the advance to the danger point of some of the vicious tendencies of the times, and that is by the attitude and action of those who undertake to contest it. If they themselves give no ground for complaint, if they are fair and magnanimous in their treatment of others, if they place right above power; if they show a disposition to work with and not against others, then, under these circumstances, they may appeal, with hope of success, to the intelligent masses, to the large majority of the people for consideration and judgment. When all causes for reasonable complaint are removed it is difficult for the agitator to make much headway in an effort to create prejudice and hostility."

A few days later E. W. Campbell of the Illinois Steel Company, in an address before the National Safety Congress said, that the humane ideal, transcending even that of the socialist, is now dominant and progressive in all great American corporations.

"The modern trend," Mr. Campbell said, "is toward the elimination of all inequalities between the employes and the employer. If there were no men willing to ride along on other men's work, if there were not so many shirkers, if it were possible to get each man in the employing and employed divisions alike to give his best, then socialism would be possible, and I should be one of the first to preach socialism.

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"It is essential to the nation that the friction between the two divisions be eliminated, and the only barrier to the realization of a socialistic ideal by the Socialist is the Socialists themselves.

"The definite aim of great corporations in this day is to acquire the active interest and co-operation of their men. The class spirit has to be wiped out. Men, to do the best with the resources of the country, must stand shoulder to shoulder, the rich with the poor, and the employer with his workers in every issue that comes up."

Real and practical mediation can only come through recognition on the part of each co-ordinate branch of society of the duty that they owe to each other.

THE MEDIATOR recognizes the value of such staunch and powerful adherence to the cause of peace and brotherhood and bespeaks the co-operation of its readers to the end that ideal of mediation may become practical in every day life.

If you want the world to take you at your word, own up to your mistakes.

War's Lesson to Us

THE optimist is the man who tries to turn every trick of fate to an advantage to himself.

The war in Europe is one of the greatest cataclysms in the history of men. One of the most important lessons of the war will be to industry in America. Every business man abhors the war for one reason or another, but they are all a unit as to the economic waste of the war. They recognize readily that the nations whose differences caused this war, would have been far better advanced economically and financially if they expended one-third of the amount the war will cost them in the interests of Harmony and Peace.

How apropos this is in the average industrial field. There is always friction between the directing heads and operating hands of every industry. This is natural, due to the fact that those who succeed, are less in number than those who fail. Under the old system of espionage and force, reason had no place in the scheme. They accepted the enmity between each other and utilized all their spare energy in making the fight, and the fight has been disastrous to both sides.

After the Homestead strike, Andrew Carnegie, who won the fight against the combined forces, remarked that another such victory would ruin him.

It is safe to assume that at least 25% of the time of every man, executive or operative, is wasted because of this spirit or resentment to say nothing of the cost of extra supervision because of this feeling, or of espionage; and this 25% lost motion bears down equally on the stockholder, the laborer, and the general consuming public. This friction between those who succeed and those who fail is responsible for the birth, growth, and development of unionism; and as unionism has grown out of this war and was developed by their successful machinations due to the warfare, it is absolutely logical that they when they become powerful should be tainted and influenced by the same spirit. So that today we find that unionism, which has done so much for labor, its collective bargaining system, which is pretty generally accepted by the employing element, instead of helping to solve the problem has accentuated it, and in no small meas-

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ure has added its modicum to the high cost of living which is due to the controversy between these two branches of industry.

Mediation is the anthithesis of it all. Mediation brings men together; mediation carries into the industries the same spirit of Christian tolerance which is met with one day a week in every church and Sunday school in the United States and the world.

There is no logical reason why men should be human and brotherly on the Sabbath, and meet as man to man one day, and then resume their positions as antagonists on the other six. It is the message of mediation to bring this thought home to men in all walks of life. If fighting, friction, and enmity injures both sides alike, and both sides suffer economically because of the enmity, it is self evident that if this economic pressure is to be removed, it can only be removed through the removal of the enmity. No man is an enemy to the man he understands.

All men are alike in their desire for peace and plenty. Nature provides plenty, but man must provide the peace. The Square Deal, which is the basis of mediation, means that all sides of industry are the same. As every development of the physical man must come through the reasoning power of his mind, which is located in his head, so must the reasoning power and directing elements towards co-operative friendship begin with the heads of our industrial institutions.

The heads direct the hands, and if in your institution the hand is at war with the head, it means either that you are misunderstood or that you are considered an enemy, and a misdirector of the hands. It is important and vital to you if this is the feeling, whether just or unjust, and you as the operating head must learn that as every benefit to the physical organism must come through the head before it takes action and shows results in the other portions of the physical anatomy, so must the spirit of true mediation and square deal begin at the head of the institution and from there reach down through its various nerve centers to every constituent portion of the same.

The Circle of the Labor Movement*

By J. K. TURNER

Chapter XXI.

The Solonic Law Under Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius

DURING the reign of Tiberius, the era under which we exist had its foundation; Socialism first appeared under this monarch.

We of today little understand how the workers were hated in ancient times. If they were not slaves or organized closely, they were in great danger of being attacked. This fear caused them to organize. To gain admission to the unions they underwent a long period of probation and scrutiny. When admitted they were furnished with work, and work they must, for there were no poorhouses, no charities, although there were walled asylums where those who were pursued might find refuge. Jesus taught them "If any will not work, neither shall he eat." Soon after his crucifixion three thousand joined the unions.

The important feature of the Solonic organization was its universality. In all parts of the world the same rules, by-laws, the demand for mutual love, and brotherhood, were in effect.

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The manufacture of images, models, and shrines, was part of the pagan worship of Diana. The priest procured from the unions of jewelers large numbers of shrines, models and trinkets, and sold them at much higher prices to ladies of wealth.

The temples belonged to the state or city; the sales of these idols brought great gains to the city.

Paul preached so strongly against the worship of idols that their manufacture was cut off to such an extent that thousands of laboring people were thrown out of employment.

The silversmiths and goldsmiths were organized. No wealth, good fortune, or food could be earned by an unorganized workman at that time. Thus by preaching against the manufacture of these idols, many became antagonistic to Paul. This matter came up again later, ending in the suppression of the unions by the edict of Laodicea.

Few people realize the importance of the temple of Diana, its magnificence, or enormous proportions. In the Bible we read: "Great is Diana of the Ephesians." It was the wonder of the architectural world. It was 425 feet in length and 220 feet in width. The roof was of cedar and the massive entablature of marble supporting it had 128 columns, 60 feet high. In its center, supported on a high pedestal, stood the wonderful statue of Diana done in costly pearls and gold, to the value of millions.

The renowned Parthenon of Acropolis of Athens was only one-fourth as large.

Diana was the protector of labor and presided over the unions of hunters and fishermen and ruled the destiny of virginity, marriage, and honor. This temple was founded by the Amazons and Leleges in prehistoric antiquity. It had been destroyed by the conflagration of Erostratus, 370 years before, and rebuilt in splendor, and was one of the seven wonders of the world—the Colossus at Rhodes, the Pyramids of Egypt, the Hanging Gardens of Babylon, the Statue of Jupiter at Olympus, the Pharos at Alexandria, and the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. Such a large edifice could not be owned by any one denominational branch of religion. It was national property. For the greater part of the twelve hundred years that it stood, it was claimed by the municipality of Ephesus.

Trade unions of the ancient times, however, were foreign to any existing at the present time, for there was a vein of loving fraternity between them. Socially, unions cultivated mutual assistance, respect, honor, and love. Politically, they created the democratic city. Rules were stringent. Suicides were denied burial. Those who would not work and failed to pay their monthly assessment, for the first offense were fined and told to find work, employment being furnished by the unions. For the third offense, they were expelled and disgraced.

Under the Solonic dispensation the unions could not dispose of in any manner, or alienate their property.

When Nero came into power, he centered his spite upon and burned this whole region of Rome, including the temple of Diana.

At the time of Jesus and John the Baptist, there existed a branch of the Solonic organization, known as the ebionim, the Hebrew word for poor. The members were poor mechanics, laborers and professors. Jews joined this organization in large numbers, but they were not the aristocratic Jews.

The typical name for these unions was the essenes, but they had various appellations such as ebionim, nazarenes and hemero-baptists.

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The members of these unions were held in contempt because they were working people. The miseries they were compelled to submit to made the teachings of Christ, the necessity of a universal brotherhood, and the way of salvation from tyranny acceptable to them.

Jesus taught them:

"Be therefore not solicitous about the maintenance, being in nothing wanting. To the artificer, there is work; to the unable, commiseration; to the stranger, a home; to the hungry, food; to the thirsty, drink; to the naked, clothing; to the sick, visitation; to the prisoner, aid." But work was uppermost, and was always provided.

Jesus was fourteen years of age at the time Tiberius assumed power at Rome. Jerusalem belonged to Rome and when Tiberius learned of the crucifixion, regarding it as an illegal act, he severely punished Pontius Pilate for his part in it.

Tiberius was kindly disposed towards Jesus, and acknowledged Him as the most perfect character the world had ever produced. Those who were opposed to Christianity, the Jews, believed He was an impostor, and believers in other gods, all paid tribute to his character.

After the death of Jesus and Stephen, an enormous Christian colony of these unions existed in Rome, having nearly one hundred thousand members.

Under the reign of Augustus and Tiberius, the unions had been unmolested and had flourished.

The maxim of Jesus, practiced by the unions, that by kindness "Thou shalt heap coals of fire on their heads," as opposed to brutality, proved to be of great benefit to the brotherhoods the world over.

Ancient paganism and competitive greed, backed by military power, gave way to mutual organization and mutual love. Tertullian told them how the fraternal stability of the community and of their goods and brotherhood united them while "The Roman system of individualism disintegrates. No tragedy makes a noise about our brotherhood. Family possessions which generally destroy brotherhood, create fraternal bonds among us. One in mind and soul, we do not hesitate to share our earthly goods with one another."

The short reign of Emperor Caligula, A. D. 37-41, marked a great change in the treatment of the unions. The first year of his reign was comparatively peaceful, but the last two years were marked with brutalities to rich and poor alike, thousands going to the block, among whom were senators, prelates, jurists, blood relations, Christians and unionists. This is the reason they built underground hiding places to which the people were compelled to flee from persecutions following the reign of Tiberius.

The columbaria were built out of their common funds. Here they lived, had their schools or scholae, their common tables, and here they buried their dead. The great columbarium built by Tyrannus, a freedman and teacher of the secret temple of the Solonic unions, was originally pagan, until Christianity came during the reign of Tiberius. Tiberius did not molest them, but assisted them wherever possible, for which he paid with his life. He was mysteriously murdered in A. D. 37.

At the close of the conquests, an effort was made to suppress the labor unions. Caesar, Cicero and the senate succeeded only with great difficulty, being obliged to legalize the burial attachment. This served as the privilege of thousands of unions to organize. During the time of

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Cicero and Claudius, the unions working politically, elected their own tribunes and commissioners of public works, which, according to the rulers, was an offense, but the Roman government was in need of their efficient labor so that the government in a measure, was kind to them and employed them to do considerable labor. Thus the emperors themselves found the unions of great value, while the senate jealously circumscribed their usefulness and drove them to the wall.

Under the peaceful reign of Tiberius, they had their schools above ground. They were patronized by Tiberius as they were by Augustus and Livia, his wife. It was the persecutions following the reign of Tiberius that caused them to sink their abodes into the subterranean recesses. They became strongly Christianized as a result of the teachings of Peter and Clement, who encouraged the practice of marriage, elevating woman to dignity, cultivating her virtue, lax, under pagan institutions, and she became a factor in the success of the unions of the ancient world. The women assumed management of entertainments and worked out schemes of pleasant enjoyment and made it an economic success.

Peter and Clement worked together, living a secret life. Wherever they travelled they were welcomed and entertained in the mysterious "house of the lord." Here we find the origin of the term "Lord." Wherever they went there was a lord of the house, who was a kurios, or presiding officer.

In the initiations into the pagan unions, the candidates admitted went into ecstasy, devouring the quivering flesh of the victims of the feast. Peter, fearing they might commit the same barbarism in the new unions, decreed against such brutalities.

The Therapeutae was found to have been closely related to the Eranoi and Heterae, originally worshipping Isis. It is not known definitely whether they became Christians or whether they came under the Solonic dispensation, but they were economic unions. The members were hard workers and divided the day into three parts, eight hours for labor, eight hours for refreshment and improvement, and eight hours for sleep.

Persecutions of the Christians began immediately when Claudius became Emperor in A. D. 47. The Christians were treated as Jews, Christianity at that early date being unknown. They were called Nazarenes and the Jews were responsible for all the hatred against the Christians at Rome. Great numbers of them were exiled from Rome by Claudius, who accused them of being tumultuous Jews led on by Christ because they established the worship of a new divinity in Rome. In reality they went down into their subterranean recesses and for ages lived there, teaching, educating, and struggling for a living. The unions had a building which was used in common by the membership. This building was originally a temple, but eventually became the church of the converted unions.

(To be continued)

A Thought for Today

"The day returns and brings us the petty round of irritating concerns and duties. Help us to play the man, help us to perform them with kind faces and laughter, let cheerfulness abound with industry. Give us to go blithely on our business all this day, bring us to our resting beds weary and content, undishonored, and grant us in the end the gift of sleep."—*Selected.*

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Two Golden Days

By ROBERT J. BURDETTE

THERE are two days of the week upon which and about which I never worry, two care-free days kept sacredly free from fear and apprehension.

One of these days is Yesterday. Yesterday with all its cares and frets, with all its pains and aches, all its faults, its mistakes and blunders, has passed beyond the reach of my recall. I cannot undo an act that I wrought. I cannot unsay a word that I said on Yesterday. All that it holds of life, of regret and sorrow, is in the hand of the Mighty Love that can bring sweet waters out of the bitterest desert—the love that can make the wrong things right, that can turn weeping into laughter, that can give beauty for ashes, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness, joy of the morning for the woe of night.

Save for the beautiful memories that linger, sweet and tender like the perfume of roses, in the heart of the day that is gone, I have nothing to do with yesterday.

And the other day I do not worry about is Tomorrow. Tomorrow, with all its possible adversities, its burdens, its perils, its large promises and poor performance, its failures and mistakes, is as far beyond the reach of my mastery as its dead sister—yesterday. Its sun will rise in roseate splendor, or beyond a mask of weeping clouds. But it will rise. Until then the same love and patience that held yesterday, and holds tomorrow, shine with tender promise into the heart of today. I have no possession in that unborn day of grace. All else is in the infinite keeping of that Infinite Love that holds for me the treasure of yesterday, the love that is higher than the stars, wider than the sky, deeper than the seas.

There is left for myself, then, but one day of the week—today. Any man can fight the battles of today. Any woman can carry the burdens of just one day.

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Who Am I?

I am more powerful than the combined armies of the world.

I have destroyed more men than all the wars of the world.

I am more deadly than bullets, and I have wrecked more homes than the mightiest of siege guns.

I steal, in the United States alone, over $300,000,000 each year.

I spare no one, and I find my victims among the rich and poor alike, the young and old; the strong and weak; widows and orphans know me.

I loom up in such proportions that I cast my shadow over every field of labor from the turning of the grindstone to the moving of every railroad train.

I massacre thousands upon thousands of wage-earners in a year.

I lurk in unseen places, and do most of my work silently. You are warned against me but you heed not.

I am relentless. I am everywhere; in the home, on the streets, in the factory, at railroad crossings, and on the sea.

I bring sickness, degradation, and death, and yet few seek to avoid me.

I destroy, crush or maim; I give nothing, but take all.

I am your worst enemy.

I AM CARELESSNESS.

DEFINITIONS

CARELESS—Having no care; not taking ordinary or proper care; negligent; unconcerned; heedless; inattentive; unmindful; regardless; without thought or purpose; without attention to rule or system; unstudied; thoughtless; unthinking; inconsiderate; spontaneous; rash; incautious; remiss; supine; forgetful; listless; lazy.—Webster's Dictionary.

Careful men are usually efficient; careless men are not.

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Social Tendencies

Part VII.

Caste

By W. T. BETHUNE

(Continued from August.)

MANY thoughtful men and women who study social conditions agree in stating that there exists, in the United States, a strong tendency towards the separation of our people into distinct castes.

In a constantly increasing degree it is true that men live and die in the social strata in which they are born. The number of so-called self-made men—men who have risen from poverty to great wealth and power—is steadily decreasing in proportion to population. On the other hand a hereditary property-owning aristocracy is developing. When we hear of an extremely rich man, the question "How did he get his money?" is not so liable to arise as it did fifty years ago; we are beginning to take it for granted that he inherited his riches. Our richest families are now so powerful and well intrenched behind special privileges that they are securely rich. The lower grades of rich people are precariously rich; those who do not succeed in connecting themselves by marriage to the richest families are, in the struggle for privilege, losing their fortunes to their more powerful competitors—the hereditary rich.

All this is plainly evident to whoever gives thought to social conditions. And many earnest men believe there is good reason for concluding that it will not be many generations before, with us, social caste will be as rigid as it was in Rome immediately preceding the breaking up of the Empire.

In the struggle for supremacy between nations and between empires it has been invariably the rule that, other things being at all equal, the social body in which class lines were least rigid, where people associated in greatest equality, has been the fittest to survive. And so of today. The most virile, the most progressive peoples are those amongst whom the greatest equality in association exists. Witness the two extremes: America with its fluid democracy and progress, China with its hardened caste and stagnation.

It has come to be generally recognized that progress is retarded where caste exists; that a caste society is weak in mass action and falls a ready prey to the aggression of a social body in which class lines are not closely drawn. And the existing tendency of caste to develop gives plausibility to the assumption that the fate of Rome or of China will overtake us unless a force strong enough to check the loss of social consciousness, of which caste is a manifestation, is developed in society.

By social consciousness I mean a feeling of organic unity pervading the social body—when men feel they are bound together in a common life.

Social consciousness grows stronger in proportion as the mass conception of the meaning of human life approaches nearer to being a true conception—more in accord with the law of man's social nature.

What we know of the early history of the human race indicates that primitive man had a personal bestial conception of life. To him the

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meaning of life was the gratification of his personal animal desires. With him the social consciousness was dormant.

As the law of man's nature forces him to live a rational life in association with his fellows, and having the power to absorb the accumulated experience of the race, a mass conception of the meaning of life arises and social consciousness germinates and develops.

In the evolution of society from the savage tribe to the civilized nation this mass conception has always been and still is a religious conception—a belief in the existence of a superior Intelligence, outside of man, that directs and controls human relations through certain agents, and that the meaning of human life is to fulfill the will of this Intelligence.

It is because the religious conception is a false conception and keeps men from realizing the true law of human association that caste developed in the nations that have lived and died. It is a false conception, for it postulates a superior Intelligence as directing and controlling man's social relations and thus conflicts with a fundamental law of man's nature—the desire inherent in every individual to give expression to the social intelligence peculiar to himself.

A social body in which exists a religious mass conception of the meaning of life that postulates unseen, spiritual, intelligent beings (gods) as choosing certain persons to rule in their name, is a favorable field for the growth of caste, for such a conception, by dividing men into superior and inferior grades, on the basis of ruling power, generates invidious comparison between men.

Every individual having a social intelligence, peculiar to himself (its manifestations being different in each, but never in opposition) and the law of man's nature urging him to give expression in action to this intelligence, with the existence of a religious mass conception that postulates outside spiritual beings as the source of social intelligence, there must necessarily be conflicting opinions as to the will of these spiritual beings. Thus it is that the history of every nation is a record of internal conflict between church groups for power to rule—each bent on enforcing their particular interpretation of the will of the gods. And the popularly accepted proof as to who are the true agents of the gods is the ability of claimants to conquer opposition and maintain their rule.

Having proved their right to rule by a demonstration of superior physical force, the rulers must maintain it by the same force. Hence rulers are, of necessity, a militant class.

Out of this need of the rulers to maintain superior physical force grew government—the physical body through which the rulers proclaim and enforce what they assert to be the will of the superior Intelligence.

In the conflicts between rulers and would-be rulers, those in control of government have the advantage of position, and being able to conquer opposition, they maintain their rule and designate who shall be their successors. In this way arises a group of hereditary ruling families—superior persons who are the generally accepted arbiters of social order and leaders in mass action.

Although rulers look upon themselves and are accepted by the masses as superior persons, this, of itself, does not dim the social consciousness or weaken the power for mass action; for rulers and ruled alike feel bound together in a common destiny—the rulers being leaders in mass action in fulfilling the will of the gods.

It is when, in conjunction with this feeling of superiority, the mem-

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bers of the ruling class lose faith in themselves as chosen agents of the gods that their social consciousness is obscured. This lack of faith in the generally accepted meaning of life becomes most pronounced with the concentration and perpetuation of ruling power in a few families. The rulers, by intimate contact with and examination of the phenomena through which they are supposed to receive their instructions from the gods, come to realize they have been deluding themselves; that what they proclaim as the will of a superior Intelligence is simply their will—an expression of what they personally desire.

Having lost faith in the generally accepted meaning of life, which bound them in a common destiny with the masses, and having come to consider themselves and to be accepted by the masses as superior persons, the social consciousness becomes obscured amongst the members of the ruling class. With them the meaning of life reverts to the primitive, personal animal conception—the gratification of animal desires. From being leaders of the masses in working out the will of supposed superior spiritual beings, they become masters and consider themselves a higher variety of the same species. They have no intercourse with common people on a common basis.

This loss of faith and attitude of superiority spreads from the ruling class to the groups who make up the machinery of government. These groups have degrees of superiority over the masses, rising in proportion as they come in closer touch with the rulers.

This is caste—the grouping of people in distinct classes based on supposed superior and inferior breeding with rigid lines between them—the outgrowth of a reversion, amongst the members of the ruling class, to the primitive conception of the meaning of life, a reversion resulting primarily from a false mass conception.

Although the rulers lose faith in the religious conception and, being unable to conceive of a higher meaning to life, revert back to the brutal conception, the masses do not lose their faith. They still accept their rulers as the true agents of the gods. And as their position as rulers enables those in power to satisfy their animal desires by exploiting the masses, the rulers pretend to accept the faith in order to maintain their advantageous position. But when the need for united mass action arises (as when the social body is invaded by a foreign foe), instead of taking the position of leaders of the masses and being ready to sacrifice themselves in defense of the common national life, the members of the ruling class, who have lost social consciousness, put their own personal, animal desires before the common social good and are ready to barter away the liberties of the masses for their own personal gratification. Thus mass action is weakened. In this way, great empires like Rome and Carthage were disrupted, and caste for a period was broken down, to again develop under a higher religious mass conception of the meaning of life—the so-called Christian religious conception.

The growth of caste has been retarded in some nations by internal social convulsions, of which the American revolution was a notable example.

The loss of social consciousness amongst some powerful members of the ruling class—indicated by the growth of caste in the British empire—led them to follow a governmental policy which other members, who had not yet lost faith, actively resented. This, with radical changes in industrial relations, checked the growth of caste and made possible the birth of a new nation and the development of a mass conception of life

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more in accord with the law of man's nature. This is the mass conception that we hold today—a belief in the existence of a superior impersonal social intelligence we call Society, that controls human relations through the machinery of government, and that the meaning of our life is to fulfill the will of this Intelligence.

This latter day conception is still a religious conception for it rests on the basis common to all religions, i. e., the assumption that there exists a superior Intelligence distinct from man that directs and controls human relations through some chosen agent. The mass conception is therefore still a false conception. It still fosters invidious comparison between men that arose and developed with the religious conception that postulated superior spiritual beings as controlling human relations through certain chosen persons as their agents. The invidious comparison between men as to degree of favor with the gods—expressed in terms of ruling power—has given place to invidious comparison as to their importance to Society—expressed in terms of ownership of legal property.

The increasing feeling of superiority amongst the members of the wealthy class, that comes with the concentration of legal property in a few families, combined with the loss of faith in the mass conception of life that is already beginning to develop amongst the idle rich, points to their reversion to the primitive brutal conception. With this reversion would come a corresponding loss of social consciousness, making itself manifest by caste.

(To be continued)

Mediation means work with and not against others.

The Industrial Unrest

By JOHN E. BENNETT

(Continued from October Number)

THE "door of opportunity" comprises several components. It consists first of initiative, second of immigration, and third of land. Initiative or incentive may be said to be that quality in the human which moves him to progress; which stirs him to new enterprise; which prompts him to take industrial risks; to venture forth. It is a psychological quality and may be readily discouraged and suppressed by restrictive laws and conditions that limit opportunity. It is a fact that the whole course of the Socialist labor movement has been antagonistic to initiative. It has been directed to taking profit out of industry, reducing returns at that end of enterprise which works with capital to mere interest upon investment and wages for personal services. Accumulated capital has been further assailed by various forms of taxes; by death dues, and super income taxes which have no other justification for existing than to punish men for accumulating wealth. Profit is the fund which is the basis of initiative. Essentially it is a fund which may be lost or won in business. An enterprise may have no profits, not even salary for those who initiate it, and often capital itself is lost. Profits in one business, therefore, become capital in another; and where the State operates to repress profits it wars on business, and destroys incentive. Men should be left to make all the profit in business that they can; it is the lure that spurs them on to higher and better endeavors. It is assumed that when a man is a millionaire he has taken a million away

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from some number of people, and that it is withdrawn in some fashion from the common stock of the country; that people are injured by his having it. This is not a fact, for, all the millionaire can get out of his possessions is what he and his family eat, wear and use; and these users are susceptible of only a very limited application of wealth. The volume of his fortune is in industry, operating under directive control, and creating in thousands of channels opportunity to labor. This quality of initiative, by removing the spur of profit, of individual accumulation, Socialism would practically extinguish within the nation, and thereupon would be delivered a fatal blow to civilization, for it is upon incentive that civilization is built. Socialists answer this criticism of their program by asserting that there is nothing in Socialism incompatible with the offering of any special reward for special social service. We need go no further. The incentive which moves a nation cannot be built upon government offering rewards. Incentive must abound on every hand; men must be free to create opportunities out of the very atmosphere of conditions. The fullest liberty, the most complete individualism, is necessary for its healthy existence. Aside from this statement we are told that the incentives remaining under Socialism will be "joy of work;" "satisfaction of having won where others failed;" "the instinct and passion for creation, discovery and self expression;" "symbols of honor;" and notes that "our great manufacturing plants have their own departments of inventors," as though inventive genius were a matter of clerk hire. The reply to all of this is that invention is not the only field of initiative; initiative must abound, and must have all the prizes that freedom may give to bring it forward in its full force and effect.

It is to the interest of labor further to keep open the door of immigration of all laboring peoples. The foreign laborer by joining in industry creates products which call for other labor and thus provides and promotes opportunity. The laborers can do nothing more harmful to their own interests than by pursuing their policy of opposing immigration upon the theory that a laborer coming into the country takes the job away from a workman here. He does nothing of the kind. The immigrant furnishes jobs, which but for his labor would not exist. He raises wages and does not lower them; he does not derogate or repress the native laborer, but he drives him to a higher status and makes life easier and more abundant to him.

The third feature is land; and this is a matter of extreme importance. Where, indeed, the Socialist demands present any aspect of a real wrong as their basis, it is our duty to recognize it and show it forth. We cannot overcome Socialism by ignoring or defending the errors in our polity and systems which have brought it about; and none can deny that in our field of production and distribution, hence in our civilization, there is "something wrong" which has given Socialism and labor unionism a real status as a criticism. We have noted that the Socialist platform calls for "collective ownership of land where practicable, where impracticable the appropriation and collection of all rentals held for speculation and exploitation." This proposal is impracticable and unjust, though perhaps just as reasonable as many of the others which the Socialist designs. There is no question that the existing land system is one of the large reasons for the untoward industrial conditions which prevail today, in that the owner of land at present absorbs a value for

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which he gives no service, which is deposited upon the land by society, and which is appropriated from labor.

The fund which the land lord receives is the fund which is apportioned to land, and which the laborer upon the land is willing to pay; otherwise the latter would not occupy the land, but would leave it. The net injury to the occupant in the operation is that after having paid up to the limit to the land owner, a much higher rent than he should rightfully pay, the tax collector heaves in sight and collects from him for support of the State, levying his charges upon the products of his labor. And the fund so withdrawn is no trifling matter,—it is a large, a vast amount. Consider the enormous sums which are yearly paid the State upon improvements, personal property, licenses, income tax, tariff and internal revenue, taxes upon estates of decedents, taxes upon immigrants, every vestige of which, save where they bear upon the value of lands, are erroneous, unjustifiable, in the teeth of the principles of the Constitution, and should be swept away. Aside from the oppression of a double taxation, hence increases its prices, the laborer—for every man who works with his hands or with his mind is a laborer—is injured by the holding by the land owner of land out of use, whereby labor fails of employment, initiative is impaired, and production is held down; while as I remark, rent is driven up greatly higher than it should be, an excess which really does the land owner no good, for if this condition were cured he would get less rent, but with the money he received he could buy vastly more than at present, for prices then would be low instead of high, as is the case under the existing system. A system, therefore, which places in the hands of one man a sword wherewith to drive back labor from vacant areas of the common earth, is not such as can find any support under a rational interpretation of the Constitution of the United States. It is true that under the Constitution the assertion of this right has been neglected; it was not indeed recognized in this age until it was pointed out by Henry George and is not commonly conceded now; but we have seen the vast and rapid progress Socialism has made, the menacing proportions it presents at the present day, and we realize that its excuse for being is that men are denied livings and that in justice they should have a larger scope of opportunity than they now possess, and here we find ensconced at the roots of monopoly the land owner possessed of a power given him by the law, to keep men off of the natural earth, and to prevent the great basic storehouse of nature from receiving the embrace of labor in the bringing forth of wealth for the service of man. Land value is essentially a social creation. It cannot arise nor exist except through society. It belongs absolutely to the State and, from the standpoint of ownership, the Socialists are completely right when they demand that the State shall take every vestige of it, a demand, however, that is impossible of being effective. There are in fact two forms of value; social value and individualistic value. Social value is land value, while individualistic value is all other values that exist.

Here then we have initiative, or incentive, immigration and land. If these three avenues of opportunity were kept open we should have no trouble with Socialism or labor unionism. With incentive free, the genius of man would be constantly pushing forward into new domains of endeavor, and calling labor to his aid.

These elements are the components of individualism, and there is no other remedy for the industrial situation. Under their untrammeled

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operation wages would be as high as the market sales of the commodity or service would allow, and they would be freely paid as the result of a bid to get labor, the bidding being against the call for labor elsewhere existing by reason of the door of opportunity being open and activities operating in all localities, in every direction. The laborer would receive the full mete of reward which the industry would allow, and when he receives this he has all he is entitled to and he cannot get more. This condition in the labor situation must not be confused with the theory of "demand and supply of laborers." Demand and supply, however, may be treated as of two kinds; that which arises through natural forces, which is industrial conditions unimpaired by the presence of monopoly resting upon law, and that which is artificially created, as is the case of the labor unions with their "closed shop," their union label and their Congressional laws keeping immigrants out of the country. With the natural condition there is high wages for all with low prices; where with the artificial condition there is high wages for some, idleness and half idleness for many, with high prices, stifled industries, hideous, overbuilt monopolistic enterprises and starvation; with infinite schemes of minimum wage, workmen's compensation, unemployed insurance, eight hour laws, widows and aged pensions, maternity awards, and so on and so on and so on, with ever calls for more and more, until the heart sickens at the thought of the struggling people in their ignorance and misery trying to find relief from the oppressions which the pursuit of wrong lines of economic thought has held them in, and has led them into, and in which direction they can get no relief, but must only make their burdens worse, until Samson-like—for the Philistine is strong in his millions—they pull down upon all of us the structure of civilization which withal, we have reared to magnificent heights.

The real solution of the labor question, which is also the Socialist question, and the real interest of the laborer, and the direction in which he must work his way out if he is to live as a free man and not as a slave, is in the opposite trend to which he and his movement have been going. His interest is to increase, not to diminish product; to promote abundance, not scarcity; to lower prices, not to raise them; to open the door of opportunity, not to be indifferent towards it, or to close it. Abundance and low prices; high wages through scarcity of men called off by industry, not thrust out of industry by unions, and kept out of the country by exclusion laws, or starved out by killing off industry through destroying initiative—these are the true concerns of labor; and every factor tending to promote these he should encourage, and every one against them he should oppose. His interest is not to become a serf to the State, as would quickly ensue under the centralized system of Socialism with its allurements of "democratic management" and people's rule;" but to remain an independent man, a citizen and not a subject, possessing rights and not permits; prerogatives, not privileges; the entire vouchsafed by an organic instrument, and clenched by written law. A government of limitations, of checks and balances, rigidly held against incursions upon the rights of citizens, yet sufficiently elastic in its universal basis of human liberty to admit any change attaining larger freedom of action, greater security to life and wider recognition of property. Such is the American constitution, and fatal will be the day to the progress of human kind when it is subverted or swept aside. Moreover the laborer should remember that so long as he works as a laborer he is a laborer; he is not

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and cannot be at once a laborer and a capitalist, a promoter, a master or a statesman; nor can he in any aspect expand the share of the laborer to embrace the rewards of any of these, and all attempts to do so must recoil to his own disadvantage. The work he performs is as necessary to industry as that of the others, but not more necessary. The fact that the employer who manages, the general who directs, the capitalist who furnishes the wherewithal, receive a larger share of the product than any individual laborer, a circumstance which occasions so much dissatisfaction to many of the laborers and their advocates today, is an inherent and continuous incident, and can never be changed so long as industry endures. It would obtain in just as high a degree under the amplest efflorescence of State Socialism as it exists today. It is an incident of nature and arises through the fact that the chiefs of all action are higher endowed in their several psychologies than are other men. The very fact that they are chiefs is proof of this. The lure of unusual capacity to display of unusual endeavor is always high rewards. Men delight to bestow their offerings upon those gifted ones endowed with powers to render great service, and which they freely employ. Power, however, expressed, induces its full mete of material returns. From the savage or the barbaric king to the great inventor or the great captain of industry, and from these in subinfeudation, graduating down to the lowest man who stands on the plane of service above another, are all requited in degree by the free and natural consent of men with greater rewards than another. Were it not so there would be no cause for aspiration, nothing to move ambition or stir man to excel.

The favorable results to the laborers that would be produced by the change in the land system, while demanded by the Socialists in a far larger measure than that which is here conceded, is by them nevertheless deemed inadequate as giving to the laborer as much as will satisfy him. However that may be it is all he is entitled to receive and when he gets this he shall have his full measure of rights and cannot possibly get more. He has a right to full, free and fair opportunity, in the face of nature, and in the face of law; and for the rest it is "up to him." Socialism is neither practicable nor possible as a measure of relief to the laborer, and if ever brought into existence will produce indescribable chaos and war.

—Finis—

All warfare is uncivilized.

Paterson Anarchy

PERMIT me to make a few comments on the attitude of the Paterson authorities toward the constitutional guaranties of peaceable assembly and free speech. For many years previous to 1914 Paterson had been known throughout the civilized world chiefly for two things: her great silk industries and as the abiding place and stamping ground of a large number of anarchists.

The great strike of the silk operatives occurring in the early part of 1914 passed in its early stages under the control of the I. W. W. and was marked by great agitation, starvation and suffering of the working people and large losses by the trades people and landlords of the Silk City.

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These deplorable conditions were accentuated to a considerable extent, however, by the great brutality of the police of that city toward the strikers and the virtual suppression at the latter stage of the strike of the right of assembly and free speech. The strike was finally broken, however, but the I. W. W. gained thereafter a large membership among the operatives, and in many instances gained shop control of the large mills and forced certain increases in the wage scales of the operators.

The European war and the consequent slump in the silk industry, coupled with the period of great unemployment resulting therefrom, enabled the silk operators to discharge the leading spirits of the silk workers' organization and thus disintegrate and destroy the effectiveness of the I. W. W. nuisance. Thereupon, instead of benefiting by the lesson taught by the strike, the mill owners began a great cutting and slashing of wages, thousands of workers went on part time and the sufferings of these underpaid people were increased.

In order to correct the dreadful influences of the past ungodly labor agitation and help the operatives to bear their poverty by directing their attention to another and better world, where both poverty and strikes are unknown and sabotage is not practiced, the pious people of Paterson, and among them several silk mill owners who are known to pay the lowest wages, contributed to underwrite the Billy Sunday soul saving campaign. Sunday, as usual, was a great success. But, alas, such is the perversity of human nature that when the stomach commences to meet the backbone the mind tends to lose sight of the eternal verities, and in the hope that the prospects of another strike would induce the silk operators to increase their scanty wages, now that business has become good in the silk industry, the remnant of the militant I. W. W. invited Miss E. G. Flynn, a labor orator of great power, to address them at a meeting in the union hall called to consider a new wage scale to be submitted to the silk operators. The hall was closed by the police and the auditors dispersed, and Miss Flynn left, protesting that her constitutional rights as a citizen were being invaded. In *The Sun* of September 6 Miss Flynn is reported as saying that when she remonstrated with Chief Bimson he said: "You may have the right to speak, but we have the power to prevent you." This agrees with the previous newspaper reports of the occurrence.

It is one of the fundamental tenets of the I. W. W. that "Might makes right." This proposition seems to agree perfectly with the views of the Paterson authorities. There is no question that the I. W. W. is a grave menace to the rights of private property, as the following excerpt from its preamble shows: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. . . . Between these classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system. . . . It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism."

The public advocacy of these doctrines is, in Paterson and all other cities containing a large working class population, regarded as a "breach of the peace," or "inciting to riot," and if the speaker giving utterance to them is applauded by the auditors the meeting is treated by the police authorities as a riot.

Terrible as these doctrines must seem to all those who are striving earnestly to bring about a better understanding between the employing and the working classes and to allay the class hatred which is becoming

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rampant throughout the country by reason of such agitation, it is perfectly lawful for workingmen to organize and to secure as the result thereof as high a wage as possible, for labor, like articles of commerce, is a commodity. The right of peaceable assembly, however, and the right of free speech are precious heritages of the race which we must preserve at any cost. The actions of the authorities backed by the mill owners must have impressed what Chief Bimson called "the ignorant foreign element" mightily in favor of the I. W. W. doctrines that might makes right and that working people have nothing in common with their employers.

The newspaper statements frequently made that Paterson is a hotbed of anarchy are doubtless greatly exaggerated, but anarchical disregard by constituted authority for law and the nullification of the great fundamental rights of peaceable assembly and free speech upon the part of public officials can only prove of assistance to the I. W. W. in fanning the flames of discontent. No body of citizens backing public officials in such action can escape responsibility for the results thereof. "He that soweth the wind shall reap the whirlwind."—*J. Stephen Dodd, in New York Sun.*

Where Strikes End Quietly

DENMARK stands alone among European countries as having a limited compulsory arbitration law, recognizing the principle of State interference in the settlement of labor disputes, says the *Review,* of the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics. The permanent arbitration court consists of twelve members, six associates and their alternates. Three associates and their alternates are elected annually by the Association of Danish Employers and Masters; the other three and their alternates are chosen by the Danish Federation of Labor, as long as these organizations represent the majority of employers and workmen on either side. When they cease to do so, steps are to be taken for a change in the law. The associate justices select a president and vice president, while the Minister of the Interior appoints the secretary.

The court may be cited by either of the above organizations in the cases following: When an employers' association acts in violation of an agreement with the labor organization; when by one or more members of an employers' association an act is committed which violates an agreement entered into by the association, whereby the rights of the workmen's association or any of its members are infringed; or, conversely, when a labor organization or any of its members violate an agreement entered into with an employers' association; when a contract between a single firm and a labor organization has been violated by either party; when an employers' association or any of its members give notice to a trade union or its members of an intended lockout, and the trade union claims such lockout is a violation of contract; when the legality of a proposed strike is at issue, and when other disputes between an employers' organization and a workmen's organization or disputes between firms and individuals arise, provided the parties agree on such reference, either in general cases or in the specific one at issue.

Fines may be imposed on any parties who violate the terms of a trade agreement, who refuse to comply with an arbitration award or who refuse to refer a case to arbitration when such reference has been previously agreed upon. The records and proceedings of the court conform to those

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of the other courts of the country. Witnesses may be summoned who are bound to appear and to testify under oath. The judgments of the court are enforceable like those of any other court.

Since the organization of the court, in 1910, 136 cases have been decided by it. During the two years 1913 and 1914, 24 cases in each year were referred to the court. During these years, 31 proceedings were begun by employers' associations or individual employers, and 17 by trade unions. The question at issue in 20 cases turned upon the matter of strikes and lockouts; interpretation of agreements or awards in 17 cases; alleged boycotts, 5; working conditions, 2; wages, 1; blacklisting or dismissal, 1; employment of non-unionists and non-compliance with the award of the court, 1.

The Successful Man

"The successful men are they who have worked while their neighbors' minds were vacant or occupied with passing trivialities, who have been acting while others have been wrestling with indecision. They are the men who have tried to read all that has been written about their craft; who have learned from the masters and fellow-craftsmen of experience, and profited thereby; who have gone about with their eyes open, noting the good points of other men's work, and considered how they might do it better. Thus they have carried themselves above mediocrity, and in striving to do things the best they could, have educated themselves in the truest manner."—*Chesapeake & Ohio Employes' Magazine.*

Dirge of Use-To-Be

In the dark and gloomy graveyard of the Things-That-Used-to-Be,
A group of ghosts were gathered 'neath a weeping willow tree.
In mournful tones, with dismal moans, while tears streamed from his eyes,
A melancholy shade explained the cause of his demise.

He said, "I was an Oil Lamp and I still recall the day
"When folks thought I was bright enough to light the darkest way;
"But when, at last, I'd finally cast a glamour round myself,
"They all installed Electric Light and put me on the shelf."

"I was a little Mule Car," another spirit cried,
"And, for a time, upon my back the world was glad to ride.
"For many a day things went my way, but soon I, too departed;
"The Trolleys pushed me off the track to perish, broken-hearted."

An ancient ghost wept softly as he told his tale of woe.
He said, "I was a Mail Coach a century ago;
"But conservation taught the nation how to save its breath
"And now the phones and telegraphs have just talked me to death."

And so, beneath the willow trees, these mournful ghosts reside,
All dreaming of the good, old-fashioned days before they died.
With plaintive wails they tell their tales of death and dissolution,
For every one of them was killed by plain ELECTROCUTION.

Charles W. Morris, Edison Monthly.

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I'd Rather Be Square

I'd like to be rich, and I wonder who wouldn't,
And yet if it cost me what some people pay,
I'd like to be rich, and find that I couldn't.
There's too much worth while that is lost by the way.

To sacrifice friends and ideals to surrender—
My heart and my conscience, my soul and my mind—
And sell all my dreams for a dollar-marked splendor
Would leave me too poor for the riches I'd find.

I'd like to be rich, there is pleasure in money—
It's good stuff to have, and its good stuff to spend.
It helps you to pay for your milk and your honey,
And gives you a chance to be nice to a friend.

I'd like to be rich, but I'd never be willing
To pay such a price as some men do for gold—
The cost is too high and the pace is too killing,
And too many things must be bartered and sold.

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"The Man Who Wins."

The man who wins is an average man,—
Not built on any particular plan,
Not blest with any peculiar luck,—
Just steady and earnest and full of pluck.

He goes at a task with Ginger and Grit
For he is determined to Conquer it.
When asked a question he does not "guess"—
He knows, and answers "No" or "Yes;"

When set a task that the rest can't do,
He buckles down 'till he's put it through.
He studies his duty as to why and how,
His practiced motto is "Do it now."

Three things he learned: That the man who tries
Finds favor in his employer's eyes;
That it pays to know more than one thing well;
That it doesn't pay, all he knows to tell,

For the man who wins is the man who works,
Who neither labor nor trouble shirks,
Who uses his hand, his head, his eyes;
The man who wins is the man who tries.

—*Selected.*

"The Man Who Fails."

The man who fails is the sort of a chap
Who is always looking around for a snap;
Who neglects his work to regard the clock,
Who never misses a chance to knock.

He is grouchy and slow when work begins,
When it's time to quit he jokes and grins;
He's always as busy as busy as can be,
When he thinks the boss is around to see.

He believes that a "pull" is the only way
By which he can ever draw bigger pay;
And he sulks and growls when he sees his plan
Upset by the "push" of another man.

He's on the job when he draws his pay;
That done, he soldiers his time away;
While the men who tackle their jobs with vim
Keep pushing and climbing ahead of him.

For the man who fails has himself to blame,
If he wastes his chances and misses his aim;
He'd win, if he'd use his hands and wits;
The man who fails is the man who quits.

—*Pere Marquette Magazine.*

Failure and success are no respecters of persons.

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ONE LAW FOR ALL

FOR several years past organized labor has been centering its efforts on passage of laws which would separate them from other classes of citizens.

THE MEDIATOR has touched upon the dangers of success of such a plan on the part of labor leaders, being more particularly interested in the ultimate effect upon labor than upon the great mass of citizens who are able to take care of themselves.

The one resulting effect of their efforts so far, has been an added cost and burden to labor without any adequate compensation or relief to their constituency.

The most important case that has come before the American people of late has been known as the "Arizona Anti-Alien Law." This law was enacted by the initiative vote of the people of Arizona and made it unlawful for any employer to employ less than 80% qualified electors or citizens of the United States.

The Circuit Court of Arizona held the law to be unconstitutional, and the Supreme Court of the United States on November 1st, sustained the Circuit Court's contention, and their decision is a reiteration of the personal guarantee of labor accorded to aliens by the citizens and emphasizes "the right to work for a living," as an inherent right that cannot be interfered with under the constitution.

Justice Hughes' remarks are enlightening and should be widely read. He said:

"It is sought to justify this act as an exercise of the power of the State to make reasonable classifications in legislating to promote the health, safety, morals, and welfare of those within its jurisdiction; but this admitted authority, with the broad range of legislative discretion

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that it implies, does not go so far as to make it possible for the State to deny to lawful inhabitants, because of their race or nationality, the ordinary means of earning a livelihood. It requires no argument to show that the right to work for a living in the common occupations of the community is of the very essence of the personal freedom and opportunity that it was the purpose of amendment to secure. If this could be refused solely upon the ground of race or nationality, the prohibition of the denial to any person of the equal protection of the laws would be a barren form of words.

"It is no answer to say, as it is argued, that the act proceeds upon the assumption that 'the employment of aliens unless restrained was a peril to the public welfare.'

"The discrimination against aliens in the wide range of employments to which the act relates is made an end in itself, and thus the authority to deny aliens, upon the mere fact of their alienage, the right to obtain support in the ordinary fields of labor is necessarily involved. It must also be said that reasonable classification implies action consistent with the legitimate interests of the State, and it will not be disputed that this cannot be so broadly conceived as to bring them into hostility to exclusive Federal power.

"The authority to control immigration—to admit or exclude aliens—is vested solely in the Federal government. The assertion of an authority to deny to aliens the opportunity of earning a livelihood when lawfully admitted to the State would be tantamount to the assertion of the right to deny entrance and abode, for in ordinary cases they cannot live where they cannot work. And, if such a policy were permissible, the practical result would be that under the authority of the acts of Congress, instead of enjoying in a substantial sense and in their full scope the privileges conferred by the admission, would be segregated in such of the States as chose to offer hospitality.

"We have frequently said that the Legislature may recognize degrees of evil and adapt its legislation accordingly; but underlying the classification is the authority to deal with that at which the legislation is aimed. The restriction now sought to be sustained is such as to suggest no limit to the State's power of excluding aliens from employment if the principle underlying the prohibition of the act is conceded. No special public interest with respect to any particular business is shown that could possibly be deemed to support the enactment, for as we have said it relates to every sort. The discrimination is against aliens as such in competing with citizens in the described range of enterprises and in our opinion it clearly falls under the condemnation of the fundamental law."

You can climb pretty high in the world, but you never get so high that you are above suspicion.

Savings Banks and the Railroads

PRESIDENT W. E. KNOX of the savings bank section of the American Bankers' Association, in a speech at Seattle preceding a symposium upon "The Railroads and the People," pointed out the very vital interest which the savings bank depositor has in the railroads of America. Mr. Knox said in part:

"The savings banks of the United States are approaching the com-

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pletion of a century of useful and honorable service to the nation and are looking forward to a fitting celebration of that event in 1916.

"There are two or three matters of much import that particularly call for our consideration at the present time.

"The first is the growing and concerted effort which we are making, through our 'Thrift' campaigns, to impress upon our citizens the importance of 'Thrift' as a habit and a principle—not only to the individual but to the community and to the nation. The record is the education of the savings bank depositor. Whether he realizes it or not, the savings bank depositor has a vital interest in the welfare of the railroads. There are in the United States 10,502,438 savings bank depositors, every one of whom is to some extent a partner of the railroads, because of the fact that the vast amount of $859,601,756.68 is invested by the savings banks in railroad bonds.

"Every law that is passed affecting the railroads has an effect upon the investment held by the savings banks as the trustees of the people. If this fact were kept clearly in view by our legislators it would go far toward having a steadying effect upon them, with beneficial results for all parties concerned."

The Engineers and Firemen

THE joint board of the Brotherhood of Engineers and the Brotherhood of Firemen has sent to all local bodies of their organizations a call which recites that "the railroad brotherhoods, wherever organized, are beginning to realize that all the orders must work together in their struggle with the railroads to gain shorter hours, higher wages, and better working conditions."

Isn't it time for these powerful and intelligent unions to realize that it is not the railroads but the Interstate Commerce and the State Railroad Commissions with which their struggle for higher wages lies? The railroads are always expected to raise wages, and they are seldom permitted to raise rates. They must add to their expenditures, but not to their income. As sensible men the engineers and firemen should think of that. It is a world of topsy-turvy political economy where wages must be increased, but the income out of which wages are paid must not be increased. —*New York Times.*

Contentment

Let us learn to be content with what we have, let us get rid of our false estimates, set up all the higher ideals—a quiet home; vines of our planting; a few books full of the inspiration of genius; a few friends worthy of being loved and able to love us in return; a hundred innocent pleasures that bring no pain or remorse; a devotion to the right that will never swerve; a simple religion empty of all bigotry, full of trust and hope and love—and to such a philosophy this world will give up all the empty joy it has.—*David Swing.*

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A Prayer

These are the gifts I ask of thee, spirit serene—
Strength for the daily task;
Courage to face the road;
Good cheer to help me bear the traveler's load;
And for the hours of rest that come between,
An inward joy in all things heard and seen.
These are the sins I fain would have thee take away—
Malice and cold disdain;
Hot anger, sullen hate;
Scorn of the lowly, envy of the great;
And discontent that casts a shadow gray
On all the brightness of a common day.

—Henry Van Dyke.

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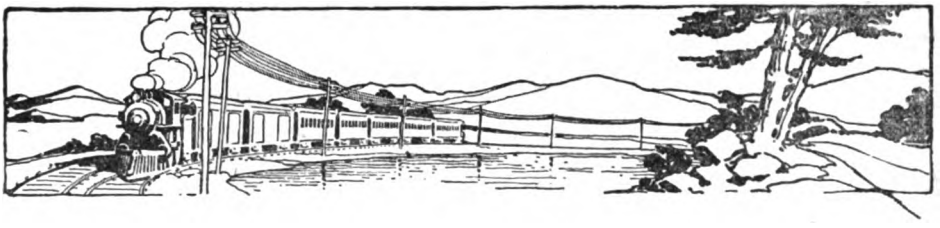

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